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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Tranſlated from the French of the

ABBÉ RAYNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

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OF THE

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EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK XVI.

Account of the French Settlements in North-America, continued.

THE war carried on for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, had raiſed a ferment in the four quarters of the world, which for the two laſt centuries have felt the effects of that reſtleſs ſpirit with which Europe hath been agitated. All kingdoms were ſhaken by the conteſts excited on account of one, which under the dominion of Charles V. had ſtruck terror into them all. The influence of a houſe whoſe ſovereignty extended over five or ſix ſtates, had raiſed the Spaniſh nation to a pitch of greatneſs which could not but be extremely flattering to her. At the ſame time another houſe whoſe power was

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ſtill ſuperior, as its dominions were more connected together, was ambitious of giving the law to that haughty nation. The names of Auſtria and Bourbon, which had been rivals for two hundred years, were now exerting their laſt efforts to acquire a ſuperiority, which ſhould no longer be conſidered as precarious or doubtful between them. The point of conteſt was, which ſhould have the greateſt number of crowns, to boaſt the poſſeſſion of. Europe, divided between the claims of the two houſes, which were not altogether groundleſs, was inclined to allow them to extend their branches, but would not permit that ſeveral crowns ſhould center in one houſe, as they formerly did. Every power took up arms to diſperſe or divide a vaſt inheritance; and reſolved to diſmember it, rather than ſuffer it to be attached to one, which, with this additional weight of ſtrength, muſt infallibly deſtroy the balance of all the reſt. As the war was ſupported by each party with numerous forces and great ſkill, with warlike people and experienced generals, it continued a long time: it deſolated the countries it ſhould have ſuccoured, and even ruined nations that had no concern in it. Victory, which ſhould have determined the conteſt, was ſo variable, that it ſerved only to increaſe the general flame. The ſame troops that were ſucceſsful in one country, were defeated in another. The people who conquered by ſea, were worſted on land. The news of the loſs of a fleet and the gaining of a battle arrived at the ſame time. Succeſs

ceſs alternately favoured each party, and by this inconſtancy ſerved only to complete the mutual deſtruction of both. At length, when the blood and treaſure of the ſeveral ſtates were exhauſted, and after a ſeries of calamities and expences that had laſted near twelve years, the people who had profited by their misfortunes, and were weakened by their conteſts, were anxious of recovering the loſſes they had ſuſtained. They endeavoured to find in the new world the means of peopling and re eſtabliſhing the old. France firſt turned her views towards North-America, to which ſhe was invited by the ſimilarity of ſoil and climate, and the iſland of Cape-Breton became immediately the object of her attention.

The French to recover their former loſſes people and fortify Cape-Breton; and eſtabliſh conſiderable fiſheries there.

THE Engliſh conſidered this poſſeſſion as an equivalent for all that the French had loſt by the treaty of Utrecht, and not being entirely reconciled to them, ſtrongly oppoſed their being allowed to people and fortify it. They ſaw no other method of excluding them from the cod-fiſhery, and making the entrance into Canada difficult for their ſhips. The moderation of queen Anne, or, perhaps, the corruption of her miniſters, prevented France from being expoſed to this freſh mortification: and ſhe was authoriſed to make what alterations ſhe thought proper at Cape-Breton.

THIS iſland is ſituated at the entrance of the gulph of St. Lawrence, between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude. Newfoundland lies to the eaſt, on the ſame gulph, and is only 15 or

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16 leagues diſtant from it; and to the weſt, Acadia is only ſeparated from the iſland by a ſtreight, not more than three or four leagues over. Cape-Breton thus ſituated between the territories ceded to its enemies, threatened their poſſeſſions, while it protected thoſe of France. The iſland meaſures about 36 leagues in length, and 22 in its greateſt breadth. It is ſurrounded with little ſharp-pointed rocks, ſeparated from each other by the waves, above which ſome of their tops are viſible. All its harbours open to the eaſt, turning towards the ſouth. On the other parts of the coaſt there are but a few anchoring places for ſmall veſſels, in creeks, or between iſlets. Except in the hilly parts, the ſurface of the country has but little ſolidity, being every where covered with a light moſs and with water. The dampneſs of the ſoil is exhaled in fogs, without rendering the air unwholeſome. In other reſpects, the climate is very cold, owing either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, which cover above half the iſland, and remain frozen a long time, or to the number of foreſts, that totally intercept the rays of the ſun; the effect of which is beſides decreaſed by perpetual clouds.

THOUGH ſome fiſhermen had long reſorted to Cape-Breton every ſummer, not more than twenty or thirty had ever fixed there. The French who took poſſeſſion of it in Auguſt 1713, were properly the firſt inhabitants. They changed its name into that of Iſle Royale, and fixed upon

fort

fort Dauphin for their principal ſettlement. This harbour was two leagues in circumference. The ſhips which came to the very ſhore, were ſheltered from winds. Foreſts affording oak ſufficient to build and fortify a large city, were near at hand, the ground appeared leſs barren than in other parts, and the fiſhery was more plentiful. This harbour might have been made impregnable at a trifling expence, but the difficulty of approaching it, (a circumſtance that had at firſt made a ſtronger impreſſion than the advantages reſulting from it) occaſioned it to be abandoned after great labour had been beſtowed upon it. They then turned their views to Louiſbourg, the acceſs to which was eaſier, and convenience was thus preferred to ſecurity.

The harbour of Louiſbourg, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, is at leaſt a league in depth, and above quarter of a league broad in the narroweſt part. Its bottom is good, the ſoundings are uſually from ſix to ten fathom, and it is eaſy to tack about in it either to ſail in or out even in bad weather. It includes a ſmall gulph very commodious for refitting ſhips of all ſizes, which may even winter there, with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour is, that it is frozen up from November till May, and frequently continues ſo till June. The entrance, which is naturally narrow, is alſo guarded by Goat iſland; the cannon of which playing upon a level with the ſurface of

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the water, would ſink ſhips of any ſize, that ſhould attempt to force the paſſage. The batteries, one of thirty-ſix, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, erected on the two oppoſite ſhores, would ſupport and croſs this formidable fire.

THE town is built on a neck of land that runs into the ſea, and is about half a league in circuit; the ſtreets are broad and regular. Almoſt all the houſes are made of wood. Thoſe that are of ſtone, were conſtructed at the expence of the government, and are deſtined for the reception of the troops. A number of wharfs have been erected, that project a conſiderable way into the harbour, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading the ſhips.

THE fortification of Louiſbourg was only begun in 1720. This undertaking was executed upon very good plans, and is ſupplied with all the works that can render a place formidable. A ſpace of about a hundred toiſes only, was left without ramparts on the ſide next the ſea, which was thought ſufficiently defended by its ſituation. It was cloſed only with a ſimple dyke. The ſea was ſo ſhallow in this place, that it made a kind of narrow canal, inacceſſible from the number of its reefs to any ſhipping whatever. The fire from the ſide baſtions completely ſecured this ſpot from any attack.

THE neceſſity of bringing ſtone from Europe, and other materials proper for theſe great works, ſometimes retarded their progreſs, but never made them be diſcontinued. More than thirty millions

lions* were expended upon them. This was not thought too great a ſum for the ſupport of the fiſheries, for ſecuring the communication between France and Canada, and for obtaining a ſecurity or retreat to ſhips in time of war coming from the ſouthern iſlands. Nature and ſound policy required that the riches of the ſouth ſhould be protected by the ſtrength of the north.

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In the year 1714, ſome fiſhermen, who till then had lived in Newfoundland, ſettled in this iſland. It was expected that their number would ſoon have been increaſed by the Acadians, who were at liberty, from the treaties that had been granted them, to remove with all their effects, and even to diſpoſe of their eſtates; but theſe hopes were diſappointed. The Acadians choſe rather to retain their poſſeſſions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage they might derive from their attachment to France. Their place was ſupplied by ſome diſtreſſed adventurers from Europe, who came over from time to time to Cape-Breton, and the inhabitants of the colony gradually increaſed to the number of four thouſand. They were ſettled at Louiſbourg, Fort Dauphin, Port Toulouſe, Nericka, and on all the coaſts where they found a proper beach for drying the cod.

The inhabitants never applied themſelves to agriculture, the ſoil being unfit for it. They have often atttempted to ſow corn, but it ſeldom came to maturity; and when it did thrive ſo much

* 1,312,50cl.

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as to be worth reaping, it had degenerated ſo conſiderably, that it was not fit for ſeed for the next harveſt. They have only continued to plant a few pot-herbs that are tolerably well taſted, but muſt be renewed every year from abroad. The poorneſs and ſcarcity of paſtures has likewiſe prevented the increaſe of cattle. In a word, the ſoil of Cape-Breton ſeemed calculated to invite none but fiſhermen and ſoldiers.

THOUGH the iſland was entirely covered with foreſts before it was inhabited, its wood has ſcarce ever been an object of trade. A great quantity, however, of ſoft wood was found there fit for firing, and ſome that might be uſed for timber; but the oak has always been very ſcarce, and the fir never yielded much reſin.

THE peltry trade was a very inconſiderable object. It conſiſted only in the ſkins of a few lynxes elks, muſk rats, wild cats, bears, otters, and foxes, both of a red and ſilver grey colour. Some of theſe were procured from a colony of Mickmac Indians who had ſettled on the iſland with the French, and never could raiſe more than ſixty men able to bear arms. The reſt came from St. John's, or the neighbouring continent.

GREATER advantages might poſſibly have been derived from the coal mines which abound in the iſland. They lie in a horizontal direction, and being no more than ſix or eight feet below the ſurface, may be worked without digging deep, or draining off the waters. Notwithſtanding the pro-

prodigious demand for this coal from New England, from the year 1745 to the year 1749, these mines would, probably, have been forsaken, had not the ships which were sent out to the French islands wanted ballast. In one of these mines a fire has been kindled, which could never be extinguished, and will one day probably occasion some extraordinary explosion. If the carelessness of one man could by a single spark kindle a fire, which for several years past has been constantly devouring the bowels of the earth, how little exertion does nature require to produce a volcano, able to consume a whole country with its inhabitants!

The whole industry of the colony has constantly been exerted in the cod fishery. The less wealthy inhabitants employed yearly two hundred boats in this fishery, and the richest fifty or sixty vessels from thirty to fifty tons burden. The small craft always kept within four or five leagues of the coast, and returned at night with their fish, which being immediately cured, was always in the utmost degree of perfection it was capable of. The larger smacks went to fish further from shore, kept their cargo for several days, and as the cod was apt to be too salt, it was less valuable. But this inconvenience was compensated by the advantage it gave them of pursuing the fish, when the want of food compelled it to leave the island; and by the facility of carrying during the autumn

the

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the produce of their labours to the ſouthern iſlands, or even to France.

Besides the fiſhermen ſettled on the iſland, others came every year from France to dry their fiſh, either in the habitations, in conſequence of an agreement made with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reſerved for their uſe.

The mother country regularly ſent them ſhips laden with proviſions, liquors, wearing apparel, houſhold goods, and all things neceſſary for the inhabitants of the colony. The largeſt of theſe ſhips, having no other concern but this trade, returned to Europe as ſoon as they had bartered their lading for cod. Thoſe from fifty to a hundred tons burden, after having landed their little cargo, went a fiſhing themſelves, and did not return till the ſeaſon was over.

The people of Cape-Breton did not ſend all their fiſh to Europe. They ſent part of it to the French ſouthern iſlands, on board twenty or twenty-five ſhips, from ſeventy to a hundred and forty tons burden. Beſides the cod, which made at leaſt half their cargo, they exported to the other colonies, timber, planks, thin oak boards, ſalted ſalmon and mackarel, train oil, and ſea coal. All theſe were paid for in ſugar and coffee, but chiefly in rum and molaſſes.

The iſland could not conſume all theſe commodities. Canada took off but a ſmall part of the overplus; it was chiefly bought by the people of New-England, who gave in exchange fruits, vegetables,

getables, wood, brick and cattle. This trade of exchange was allowed, but a ſmuggling trade was added to it, conſiſting of flour, and a conſiderable quantity of ſalt fiſh. BOOK XVI.

NOTWITHSTANDING this circulation, which was all carried on at Louiſbourg, moſt of the coloniſts were extremely poor. This was owing to the dependence their indigence had ſubjected them to on their firſt arrival. Unable to procure the neceſſary implements for the fiſhery, they had borrowed ſome at an exceſſive intereſt. Even thoſe who were not at firſt reduced to this neceſſity, were ſoon obliged to ſubmit to the hard terms of borrowing. The dearneſs of ſalt and proviſions, together with the ill ſucceſs of their fiſhery, ſoon compelled them to it, and they were inevitably ruined by being obliged to pay twenty or five and twenty *per cent.* a year for every thing they borrowed. It is one of the many hardſhips attending an equality of ſtations in life, that thoſe born to a fortune can ſeldom acquire one but by violence or fraud, the means by which the moſt opulent families have amaſſed their riches. Even commerce can ſcarce exempt men from theſe hardſhips by induſtry and aſſiduous labour. But all the French colonies of New France were not from their firſt eſtabliſhment deſtined to ſuch diſtreſs.

THE iſland of St. John, more favourably ſituated, has been more favourable to its inhabitants. It lies further up the gulph of St. Lawrence, is twenty-two leagues long, and not much above a league

Settlement of the French in the iſland of St. John.

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league at its greateſt breadth. It bends in the form of a creſcent, both ends terminating in a ſharp point. Though the right of this iſland had never been diſputed with France, yet ſhe ſeemed to pay no regard to it till the peace of Utrecht. The loſs of Acadia and Newfoundland drew their attention to this ſmall remaining ſpot, and the government began to inquire what uſe could be made of it.

It appeared that the winters were long there, the cold extreme, with abundance of ſnow, and prodigious quantities of inſects; but that theſe defects were compenſated by a healthy coaſt, a good ſea-port, and commodious harbours. The country was flat, enriched with fine paſtures, watered by an infinite number of rivulets and ſprings; the ſoil exceedingly diverſified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain. There was plenty of game, and multitudes of wild beaſts; amazing ſhoals of fiſh of all ſorts; and a greater number of ſavage inhabitants than were found on any other of the iſlands. This circumſtance alone was a proof how much it was ſuperior to the reſt.

The report that was ſpread of this in France, gave riſe to a company in 1719, which formed the deſign both of clearing this fertile iſland, and of eſtabliſhing a great cod fiſhery there. Unfortunately, intereſt, which had brought the adventurers together, ſet them at variance again, before they began to execute the plan they had projected. St. John was again forgotten, when the Acadians began

began to remove to that iſland in 1749. In pro- BOOK
ceſs of time they increaſed to the number of 3154. XVI.
As they were for the moſt part huſbandmen, and particularly accuſtomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to confine them to this employment; and the cod fiſhery was only allowed to be carried on, by thoſe who ſettled at Tracadia, and St. Peter.

PROHIBITIONS and monopolies, while they are a reſtraint upon induſtry, are equally detrimental to the labours they permit, and to thoſe they forbid. Though the iſland of St. John does not afford a ſufficient extent of ſea ſhore, fit for drying the vaſt quantities of cod that come in ſhoals to the coaſts, and though the fiſh is too large to be eaſily dried, yet it was incumbent upon a power whoſe fiſheries are not ſufficient for the conſumption of its own ſubjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying places for the quantity that could be caught, that which is called green cod might eaſily have been prepared, which alone would have made a valuable branch of commerce.

BY confining the inhabitants of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all reſource in thoſe unfortunate ſeaſons that happen frequently on the iſland, when the crops are devoured by the field mice and graſshoppers. The exchanges which the mother country could and ought to have made with her colony, were reduced to nothing. Laſtly, in attempting to favour agriculture, its progreſs

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greſs was obſtructed, by laying the inhabitants under an impoſſibility of procuring the neceſſary articles for extending it.

ONLY one or two ſmall veſſels came annually to the iſland from Europe, and landed at Port La Joie, where they were ſupplied with all they wanted from Louiſbourg, and paid for it in wheat, barley, oats, pulſe, black cattle and ſheep. A party of fifty men ſerved rather to regulate their police, than to defend them. Their commanding officer was dependent on Cape-Breton, which was itſelf under the controul of the governor of Canada. The command of this laſt officer extended to a great diſtance, over a vaſt continent, the richeſt part of which was Louiſiana.

Diſcovery of the Miſſiſippi by the French.

THIS province, which the Spaniards formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, was not diſcovered by the French till the year 1673. They were told by the ſavages, that to the weſt of Canada, there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the eaſt, and they concluded that it muſt therefore empty itſelf into the gulph of Mexico, if its courſe were ſouthward, or into the ſouth ſea, if it were weſtward. The communication with theſe two ſeas was of ſuch importance, as to deſerve ſome inquiry. This undertaking was committed to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a man of ſenſe and experience, and to the Jeſuit Marquette, whoſe virtues were reſpected by all the nations inhabiting that continent.

THESE

These two men, whose intentions were equally honest, always lived in the most friendly intimacy with each other. They went together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties itself into that lake, and went up almost to the head of the river, notwithstanding the currents which render that navigation difficult. After some days march, they again embarked on the river Ouisconsing, and keeping always westward, came to the Missisippi, and sailed down that river as far as the Akansas, about the 33d degree of latitude. Their zeal would have carried them further, but they were in want of provisions. It would have been imprudent to have ventured too far, with only three or four men, in an unknown country, and moreover, as they were perfectly convinced that the river discharged itself in the gulph of Mexico, they returned to Canada. Upon entering the river of the Illinois, they found the people pretty numerous, and inclined to a friendly intercourse with the French nation. Without concealing or exaggerating any particular, they communicated to the chief man of the colony all the information they had procured.

Among the inhabitants of new France at that time, was a Norman, named La Salle, who was equally desirous of making a great fortune, and of establishing a brilliant reputation. This man had spent his younger years among the Jesuits, where he had contracted that activity, enthusiasm, and firmness, which those fathers so well know

how

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how to inſtil into their diſciples, when they meet with young men of quick parts, with whom they are fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, who was a bold and enterpriſing man, fond of availing himſelf of every opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and anxious even to ſeek out ſuch opportunities, perceived that the new governor of Canada neglected to purſue the diſcovery that had been made. He embarked for Europe, went to the court of Verſailles, was liſtened to, almoſt even with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were inſpired with a paſſion for great actions. He returned loaded with favours, and with orders to complete what had been ſo fortunately begun.

But in order to inſure ſucceſs to his ſcheme, he had the prudence to proceed with the greateſt caution. The diſtance was conſiderable from the further French ſettlements in Canada to the banks of the river that was to be the object of inquiry. It was a matter of prudence to ſecure this tract. His firſt ſtep, therefore, was to erect ſeveral poſts, which took up more time than he imagined, the works being often interrupted by unforeſeen incidents. When time and caution had diſpoſed every thing to his wiſhes, he ſailed down the Miſſiſippi in 1682, and found that it ran into the gulph of Mexico, as had been before conjectured.

This information was of great conſequence. La Salle, who well knew what remained to be done, haſtened back to Quebec, and went over to France,

to

to propoſe the diſcovery of the Miſſiſippi by ſea, and the eſtabliſhment of a colony, which could not fail of being a very important one. His ſcheme was approved, and he obtained four ſhips of different rates, with about 150 men. He miſſed his point by ſteering too far weſtward, and on the 10th of January, 1685, found himſelf in the bay of St. Barnard, diſtant a hundred leagues from the Miſſiſippi. This error might have been rectified; but La Salle, who was a haughty and unſociable temper, had quarrelled with the commander of his little fleet, and being unwilling to owe any obligation to him, he diſmiſſed him. Being beſides prepoſſeſſed with the idea that the river he had entered muſt certainly be an arm of the great one he was commiſſioned to reconnoitre, he imagined he could execute the deſign he had been ſent upon without any other aſſiſtance: but he was ſoon undeceived. He neglected the object of his expedition. Inſtead of looking for guides among the ſavages, who would have directed him to the place of his deſtination, he choſe to go nearer the Spaniards, and inform himſelf of the famous mines of St. Barbe. He was wholly taken up with this abſurd project, when he was maſſacred by ſome of his companions, who could no longer bear with the harſhneſs of his character, his obſtinacy and haughtineſs.

The death of La Salle ſoon occaſioned the reſt of his company to diſperſe. The villains who had murdered him, fell by each other's hand. Several

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veral incorporated with the natives. Many periſhed by hunger and fatigue. The Spaniards of New Mexico, alarmed at the report of this undertaking, had advanced up the country in order to oppoſe it, took ſome of theſe adventurers, and ſent them to work in the mines, where they periſhed. Thoſe who had ſhut themſelves up in the little fort which had been erected, fell into the hands of the ſavages. Only ſeven eſcaped, who embarked on the Miſſiſippi, which had at laſt been diſcovered by land, and came to Canada. Theſe diſtreſſes ſoon made the French loſe ſight of Louiſiana.

THE attention of the miniſtry was again awakened in 1697, by Yberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome very bold and fortunate attempts at Hudſon's bay, in Acadia and Newfoundland. He was ſent out from Rochfort with two ſhips, and entered the Miſſiſippi on the 2d of July 1669. He ſailed up the river high enough to take a full view of the beauty and fertility of its banks. He contented himſelf, however, with erecting a ſmall fort, which did not long continue, and proceeded to another ſpot to ſettle his colony, chiefly conſiſting of Canadians.

The French ſettle in the country that is watered by the Miſſiſippi, and call it Louiſiana.

BETWEEN the mouth of the Miſſiſippi and Penſacola, a ſettlement newly erected by the Spaniards in Florida, is a coaſt of about forty leagues in extent. It is every where ſo flat, that trading ſhips cannot come within four leagues of the ſhore, or even the lighteſt brigs within two

leagues.

leagues. The ſoil, which is entirely ſandy, is equally unfit for agriculture and the breeding of cattle. Nothing grows there but a few cedars and fir trees. The climate is exceedingly hot, when the rays of the ſun ſhine upon theſe ſands, that in ſome ſeaſons the heat would be inſupportable, were it not for a light breeze, which ſprings up regularly at nine or ten in the morning, and never falls but in the evening. In this large tract, there is a place called Biloxi, from the name of a ſavage nation, that formerly ſettled there. This ſituation, the moſt barren and moſt inconvenient upon the whole coaſt, was made choice of for the reſidence of the few men Yberville had brought thither, and who had been allured by the moſt ſanguine expectations. BOOK XVI.

Two years after a new colony arrived, and ſettled thirteen leagues to the eaſt of Biloxi, not far from Penſacola. The banks of the Mobile, which though a river of ſome extent is no where navigable but for boats, were judged to be worth inhabiting. The poorneſs of the grounds, was not thought a ſufficient objection. It was determined that the connections which might be formed with the Spaniards and neighbouring Indians, would compenſate all theſe diſadvantages. An iſland ſituated oppoſite to the Mobile, at the diſtance of four leagues, offered a harbour, which might be conſidered as the ſea port of the new colony. It was named the iſle of Dauphin. It was very convenient for unloading the French goods, which be-

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fore it had been neceſſary to ſend aſhore in boats. This iſland, though a barren one, was ſoon peopled, and became the chief ſettlement of the colony; till the ſands, by which it had been originally formed, were heaped up to ſuch a degree by the winds in 1717, as to deprive it of the only advantage that had given it ſome kind of reputation.

It could not reaſonably be expected that a colony fixed upon ſuch a territory ſhould make any progreſs. The death of Yberville at ſea, who periſhed glorioufly before the Havannah in 1702, in the ſervice of his country, put an end to the ſmall remaining hopes of the coloniſts. France was ſo deeply engaged in an unhappy war, that no aſſiſtance could be expected from her. The coloniſts thought themſelves totally forſaken, and thoſe who entertained ſome hopes of finding a ſettlement in another place, haſtened to go in ſearch of it. The few whom neceſſity compelled to ſtay behind, ſubſiſted upon vegetables, or lived by excurſions among the Indians. The colony was reduced to twenty-eight wretched families, when Croſat petitioned for and obtained the excluſive trade of Louiſiana in 1712.

Crosat was one of thoſe men born for great enterpriſes. He poſſeſſed a ſuperiority of talents and ſentiments which enabled him to undertake the greateſt actions, and condeſcend to the leaſt for the ſervice of the ſtate, and wiſhed to derive all his fame from the glory of his country. The

ſoil

ſoil of Louiſiana was not the object of this active genius. He could not be ignorant of its barrenneſs, nor did it ever appear that he had any idea of attempting to improve it. His intention was to open communications both by land and ſea with old and new Mexico, to pour in all kinds of merchandiſe into thoſe parts, and to draw from thence a great quantity of piaſtres. The place he had aſked for, appeared to him to be the natural and neceſſary mart for his vaſt operations; and all the ſteps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But being undeceived by ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he relinquiſhed his ſcheme, and in 1717, reſigned his privilege to a company whoſe ſucceſs aſtoniſhed the world.

Louiſiana becomes very famous in the time of Laws ſyſtem.

THIS company was formed by Law, that celebrated Scotchman, of whom no ſettled judgment could be formed at the time he appeared, but whoſe name now ſtands between the crowd of mere adventurers and the ſhort liſt of great men. This daring genius had made it his buſineſs from his infancy to obſerve attentively the ſeveral powers of Europe, to examine their ſeveral ſprings, and to calculate the ſtrength of each. He was ſingularly ſtruck with the confuſion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the kingdom of France. To remedy this, was as he imagined, a taſk worthy of him, and he flattered himſelf he could accompliſh it. The greatneſs of his plan could not fail of recommending it to the regent, who held the reins of government, ſince the de-

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miſe of the monarch had reſtored peace to Europe. The ſcheme was, by ſpeedily paying off the national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous intereſts which abſorbed it. The introduction of paper credit could alone effect this revolution, and the exigencies of the times ſeemed abſolutely to require it. The public creditors came into this new ſcheme the more readily, as they knew they might at any time change theſe notes for ſhares in the company. On the other hand, there was no doubt that the company would be able to anſwer irs ſeveral engagements; ſince, independent of the produce of the taxes which was to center in their hands, as being a company of finance, they had procured a new channel as a commercial company, through which immenſe riches were expected to come in.

SINCE the Spaniard, Ferdinand de Soto, periſhed on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, about the year 1538, it was generally believed that thoſe regions contained immenſe treaſures. It was a matter of doubt where theſe riches were to be found; but ſtill the celebrated mines of St. Barbe were talked of with rapture. If they ſeemed to be forgotten at times, this temporary neglect ſerved only to quicken the attention of the people towards them. Law availed himſelf of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increaſe it by myſterious reports. It was rumoured as a ſecret that theſe and many other mines had at length been diſcovered, but that they were far richer than they

they were generally ſuppoſed to be. To give the greater weight to this falſe report, which had already gained too much credit, a number of miners were ſent over to work theſe mines, which were imagined to be ſo valuable, with a body of troops ſufficient to defend them. BOOK XVI.

It is inconceivable what a ſudden impreſſion this ſtratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty. Every one was eager to obtain a ſhare in the new company. Every ſpeculation, ſcheme and expectation was directed to this channel. The Miſſiſippi became the grand object and the ultimate end of all purſuits. The adventurers were not content with a bare aſſociation with the company which had obtained the diſpoſal of that fine country: they were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plantations, which, it was given out, were to yield in a few years the centuple of what ſhould be laid out upon them. Whether they were led by motives of intereſt, or acted from conviction, or were ſeduced by flattery, certain it is that thoſe who were accounted the moſt intelligent men in the nation, the richeſt and the higheſt in repute, were the moſt forward in forming theſe ſettlements. Others were induced by their example, and thoſe whoſe fortunes would not permit them to become proprietors, ſollicited to have the management of the plantations, or, at leaſt, to work in them.

During this general infatuation, all perſons who offered themſelves, whether natives or foreigners,

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reigners, were promiſcuouſly and careleſsly crowded into ſhips. They were landed upon the ſands of the Biloxi, where they periſhed by thouſands, with want and vexation. They might have been conveyed up the Miſſiſippi, and landed immediately upon the country they were to clear; but the managers of the enterpriſe, never thought of ſending proper boats for that purpoſe. Even after they found that the ſhips coming from Europe could ſail up the river, the head quarters ſtill continued to be fatal to thoſe unhappy and numerous victims that had fallen a ſacrifice to a political impoſture. The head quarters were not removed to New Orleans till five years after, that is, till hardly any were left of thoſe unfortunate people who had been weak enough to quit their native country upon ſuch uncertain proſpects.

But at this period, when it was too late, the charm was diſſolved, and the mines vaniſhed. Nothing remained but the ſhame of having been miſled by chimerical notions. Louiſiana ſhared the fate of thoſe extraordinary men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards puniſhed for this unmerited fame, by being degraded below their real worth. This inchanted country was now held in execration. Its very name became a reproach. The Miſſiſippi was the terror of free men. No recruits were to be found to ſend thither, but ſuch as were taken from priſons and houſes of ill fame. It became the receptacle

of

of the loweſt and moſt profligate perſons in the kingdom. BOOK XVI.

What could be expected from a ſettlement compoſed of ſuch perſons? Vicious men will neither people a country, nor labour; nor continue long in any place. Many of thoſe miſerable perſons who had been tranſported into theſe ſavage climates, went into the Engliſh or Spaniſh ſettlements, to exhibit the diſagreeable view of their diſtreſs and miſery. Others ſoon periſhed from the infection they were tainted with, before they had left Europe. The greater number wandered in the utmoſt diſtreſs in the woods, till hunger and wearineſs put an end to their exiſtence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres * had been ſunk there. The managers of the company that advanced theſe vaſt ſums, ridiculouſly pretended that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of ſuch undertakings as were fit for America. Paris, unacquainted with its own provinces, which it deſpiſes and exhauſts, would have ſubmitted every thing to the operations of theſe haſty and frivolous calculators. From the office of the company, they pretended to regulate and direct all the inhabitants of Louiſiana, and to impoſe various reſtraints upon them, which were all to the advantage of the excluſive charter. Had they granted ſome trifling encouragements to citizens of character, who might have been invited to ſettle in the

* 1,093,750l.

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the colony, by ſecuring to them that liberty which every man covets, that property which every man has a right to expect from his own labour, and that protection which is due from every ſociety to its members; ſuch encouragements as theſe, given to proprietors well informed of their real intereſt and property, directed by the circumſtances of the place, would have been productive of far greater and more laſting effects; and would have eſtabliſhed more extenſive, ſolid, and profitable ſettlements, than any the company could ever have formed with all their treaſures, diſpenſed and managed by agents who could neither have the knowledge requiſite to conduct ſo many various operations, nor even be influenced by any immediate intereſt in their ſucceſs.

The miniſtry, however, thought it conducive to the welfare of the ſtate, to leave the concerns of Louiſiana in the hands of the company; which was under a neceſſity of exerting all its intereſt, to obtain permiſſion to alienate that part of its privilege. It was even obliged to purchaſe this favour in 1731, by paying down the ſum of 1,450,000 livres:* there being ſome ſtates where the right of being involved in ruin, that of being exempt from it, and that of acquiring a fortune, are equally ſold; becauſe good or evil, whether public or private, may prove an object of finance. But after all, what was to become of this country, which had been alternately ſo highly extolled, and

* 63,437l. 10s.

and so much depreciated, when it came to be in reality a national possession? BOOK XVI.

Extent, climate, fertility, and original inhabitants of Louisiana.

Louisiana is a vast country, bounded on the south by the sea; on the east by Carolina; on the west by New Mexico; and on the north by that part of Canada whose unknown lands are supposed to extend as far as Hudson's bay. It is impossible to ascertain the exact length of it; but it is thought to be about two hundred leagues broad, between the English and Spanish settlements.

In so extensive a country, the climate cannot be every where the same. It was in no place found to be such as might have been expected from its latitude. Lower Louisiana, though in the same degree with the coast of Barbary, is no hotter than the south of France; and those parts of it that are situated in the 35th and 36th degrees, are no warmer than the northern provinces of the mother country. This phœnomenon, which seems so extraordinary to a common observer, may be accounted for by a natural philosopher, from the thick forests which prevent the rays of the sun from heating the ground; the numberless rivers which keep it constantly damp; and the winds which blow from the north over a vast extent of land.

The sky is seldom clouded; the sun, which gives life to every thing, shining almost every day. Whenever it rains, the showers are heavy: but as they seldom happen, the want of them is amply compensated by copious dews.

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The air in general is pure, but much more ſo in upper than in lower Louiſiana. In this happy climate, the women are bleſſed with a pleaſing figure, and the men are leſs ſubject to diſorders in the vigour of life, and have fewer infirmities in old age than the Europeans.

The ſoil muſt have appeared excellent before it was tried. It abounded with wild fruits, very pleaſant to the taſte. It furniſhed a liberal proviſion for a great number of birds and wild beaſts. The meadows, on which no art or labour had been beſtowed, were covered with roebucks and biſons. Perhaps, no trees are to be found comparable to thoſe of Louiſiana for height, variety, and thickneſs. If it affords no woods for dying, it is becauſe they are only produced between the tropics. Since the ſoil has been tried in ſeveral diſtricts, it has been found to be fit for all kinds of culture.

The ſource of that famous river which divides this immenſe country, almoſt in two equal parts, from north to ſouth, has never yet been diſcovered. The boldeſt travellers have not gone higher than about a hundred leagues above the fall of St. Anthony, the courſe of which is intercepted by a pretty high caſcade, about the 46th degree of latitude. From thence to the ſea, which is about 700 leagues diſtant, the navigation is not liable to be interrupted. The Miſſippi, after being enlarged by the river of the Illinois, the Miſſouri, the Wabache, and a great number

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of ſmaller rivers, maintains an interrupted courſe, BOOK till it falls into the ocean. All circumſtances con- XVI. cur to prove, that the bed of this river is widened near a hundred leagues, and that its bottom is almoſt recent ground, ſince not a ſingle ſtone is to be found in it. The ſea, throws up here a prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds, boughs and ſtumps of trees, that the Miſſiſippi is continually waſhing down; which different materials being driven backward and forward, and being collected together, form themſelves into a ſolid maſs, continually tending to the prolongation of this vaſt continent. Another ſtill more ſtriking ſingularity, and, perhaps, no where elſe to be met with, is that the waters of this great river, when once they are diverted from their channel, never return into it. The reaſon is this.

The Miſſiſippi is annually ſwelled by the melting of the northern ſnows, which begins in March, and continues for about three months. The bed of the river being very deep at the upper part, it ſeldom overflows on the eaſt ſide, till it comes within ſixty leagues of the ſea, nor on the weſt, till within a hundred leagues; that is to ſay, in the low lands which we imagine to be recent. Theſe muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired a due conſiſtence, produce a prodigious quantity of large reeds, in which all extraneous bodies waſhed down the river, are entangled. Theſe bodies all joining together, and added to the ſlime that fills up the interſtices,

in

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in proceſs of time form a maſs, which raiſes the banks higher than the adjacent ground; ſo that the waters, once overflowed, are prevented by this obſtacle from the poſſibility of returning into their former channel; and are therefore, forced to make a paſſage for themſelves through the ſands into the ſea.

When the breadth and depth of the Miſſiſippi are alone conſidered, the navigation appears to be eaſy; but this is an error. It is very tedious, even in coming down, becauſe it would be dangerous by night in dark weather, and becauſe the light canoes made of bark, which are ſo convenient on all other rivers, are uſeleſs upon this. It requires larger boats, which are conſequently heavier, and not ſo eaſily managed. Without theſe precautions, as the river is always full of trees that fall from its own banks, or float into it from other rivers it receives, the boats would be in continual danger of ſtriking againſt the boughs or roots of ſome tree lying under water. The difficulties are greater ſtill in going up the river.

At a certain diſtance from land, before the entrance of the Miſſiſippi, care muſt be taken to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louiſiana. The coaſt is ſo flat, that it can hardly be ſeen at the diſtance of two leagues, and it is not eaſy to get up to it. The river empties itſelf into the ſea, by a great number of openings. Theſe openings are conſtantly varying, and moſt of them have but little depth of water. When a veſſel

veſſel has happily ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles, ſhe may ſail without any great difficulty, ten or eleven leagues, by an open and ſandy country. The boats on each ſide, are covered with thick foreſts, that wholly intercept the winds. Such a dead calm prevails, that it commonly takes up a month to ſail twenty leagues; and this is only to be effected, by ſucceſſively faſtening the cordage to ſome great tree. The difficulty is increaſed in ſailing beyond the foreſt, which terminates at the *détour* belonging to the Engliſh, by a creſcent that ſhuts almoſt cloſe. The reſt of the navigation, upon a ſtream ſo rapid, and ſo full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and ſails, and are forced to paſs on from one point of land to another; and though they ſet out by break of day, are thought to have made a conſiderable progreſs, if they have advanced five or ſix leagues by the cloſe of the evening. The Europeans engaged in this navigation, are attended by ſome Indian huntſmen, who follow by land, and ſupply them with ſubſiſtence during the three months and a half that are employed in going from one extremity of the colony to the other. BOOK XVI.

THESE are the only difficulties the French have met with, in forming ſettlements in the vaſt region of Louiſiana. The Engliſh, ſettled in the eaſt, were too aſſiduouſly employed in their plantations, to neglect them for the ſake of ravaging diſtant regions, and have ſeldom ſucceeded in ſeducing, even for a ſhort time, the ſmall wandering

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nations between the two colonies. The Spaniards, unfortunately for themſelves, were more turbulent in the weſt. The deſire of removing a neighbour whoſe reſtleſs diſpoſition might one day be prejudicial to them in New Mexico, induced them in 1720 to form the plan of a ſettlement far beyond the lands which till then had terminated their boundaries. The numerous caravans that were to compoſe this new colony, ſet out from Santa Fé, with all the requiſites for a permanent habitation. They directed their march towards the Ozages, whom they wanted to induce to join with them in extirpating an indigenuous nation, who were neighbours and enemies to the Ozages, and whoſe territory they intended to occupy. The Spaniards accidentally miſſed their way, and came directly to that nation whoſe ruin they were meditating; and miſtaking theſe Indians for the Ozages, communicated their deſigns without any reſerve.

The chief of the Miſſourys, who became acquainted by this ſingular miſtake with the danger that threatened him and his people, diſſembled his reſentment. He told the Spaniards he would gladly concur in promoting the ſucceſs of their undertaking, and only deſired two days to aſſemble his warriours. When they were armed to the number of two thouſand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amuſed with feaſting, and dancing, and whom they found faſt aſleep, and maſſacred them all, without diſtinction of age

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or ſex. The chaplain who alone eſcaped the ſlaughter, owed his preſervation to the ſingularity of his dreſs. This cataſtrophe having ſecured the tranquillity of Louiſiana, on the ſide where it was moſt threatened, it could only be moleſted by the natives; but theſe were not much to be feared.

THESE ſavages were divided into ſeveral nations, none of them very populous, and all at enmity with each other, though ſeparated by immenſe deſerts. Moſt of them had a fixed abode, and generally worſhipped the ſun. Their houſes were only made of leaves interwoven with each other, and faſtened to a number of ſtakes. Thoſe who did not go quite naked, were only covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fiſhing, upon maize, and ſome ſpontaneous fruits. Their cuſtoms were nearly the ſame as thoſe of the ſavages of Canada, but they had not the ſame degree of ſtrength and courage, of quickneſs and ſagacity; and their character was leſs marked. Whatever natural cauſes might contribute to this difference, the ſavages of Louiſiana were under the dominion of chiefs who exerciſed almoſt an abſolute authority over them.

AMONG theſe nations, the Natches were the only people that excited any attention. They paid obedience to one man, who ſtiled himſelf GREAT SUN; becauſe he bore upon his breaſt the image of that luminary, from which he claimed his deſcent. The whole buſineſs of govern-

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ment, war, and religion depended upon him. The whole univerſe, could not, perhaps, have ſhewn ſuch at tyrant. - The wife of this ſun, as he was called, was inveſted with the ſame authority as himſelf. When any of theſe enſlaved ſavages had the misfortune to diſpleaſe any of his ſuperiors, they uſed to ſay to their guards, *Rid me of that dog*, and were inſtantly obeyed. All labour was undertaken in common, and entirely for the benefit of the ruler, who diſtributed the produce as he thought proper. On the demiſe of either the huſband or the wife, their guards always killed themſelves, that they might attend and ſerve them in the next world. The religion of the Natches, which had much the ſame tenets as that of other ſavages, had more ceremonies, and conſequently was attended with more miſchievous effects. There was, however, but one temple for the whole nation: and accidentally it once caught fire, which occaſioned a general conſternation. They tried in vain to ſtop the progreſs of the flames. Some mothers threw their children into them, and at length the fire was extinguiſhed. The next day theſe barbarous heroines were extolled in a diſcourſe delivered by the deſpotic pontiff. It is thus that his authority was maintained. It is aſtoniſhing how ſo poor and ſo ſavage a nation could be ſo cruelly enſlaved. But ſuperſtition accounts for all the unreaſonable actions of men. That alone could deprive a nation of its liberty, which had little elſe to loſe.

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THE country inhabited by the Natches, on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, was however pleaſant and fertile. It drew the attention of the firſt Frenchmen who ſailed up the river. Far from oppoſing their intention of ſettling there, theſe people aſſiſted them in it. A mutual interchange of good offices laid the foundation of a laſting friendſhip between the two nations. This might have taken place had not the avidity of the Europeans weakened the connection. They at firſt deſired only to agree for the productions of the country; but afterwards ſet their own price upon them; and at laſt they found it would be more convenient to have them for nothing. Their audacity increaſed to ſuch a degree, that they drove the old inhabitants from the fields they had cleared.

THESE acts of tyranny incenſed the ſavages. In vain had they recourſe to intreaties, and to force. Every expedient was either uſeleſs or prejudicial to them. Driven to deſpair they at length endeavoured to engage all the eaſtern nations, whoſe diſpoſitions they were acquainted with, to join in the common cauſe of vengeance, and towards the latter end of the year 1729, they ſucceeded in forming a univerſal league, the purport of which was to aſſaſſinate all their oppreſſors at the ſame inſtant. As the art of writing was unknown to the confederate nations, they agreed to count a certain number of bits of wood. One of theſe was to be burnt every day, and the laſt was to be the ſignal for the maſſacre.

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THE wife of the great chief was informed of the plot, by a ſon ſhe had by a Frenchman. She mentioned it three or four times to the French commanding officer in the neighbourhood, and acquainted him with all the particulars. This intelligence was diſregarded; but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her reſolution of ſaving thoſe ſtrangers whom affection had made her conſider as natives. Though ſhe intereſted herſelf ſo warmly for the whole nation merely from attachment to the French ſettled in her own town, yet ſhe determined to ſave thoſe ſhe had never ſeen, even at the peril of thoſe ſhe was acquainted with. Her authority as wife of the ſun, giving her free acceſs to the temple, where the bits of wood were depoſited, ſhe took away one or more of them every day, at the hazard of haſtening the deſtruction of thoſe French who were near her, ſince this was neceſſary, in order to inſure the ſafety of the reſt. Every thing happened as ſhe expected. The Natches on the day indicated by the ſignal agreed upon, not doubting but all their allies were at that inſtant perpetrating the ſame tragical ſcene, fell upon the French, and deſtroyed them; but as the bits of wood had not been ſtolen from the other conſpirators, all remained quiet; and this circumſtance alone ſaved the riſing colony. In caſe of a ſurpriſe, they had nothing to oppoſe to ſo many enemies, but a few rotten pales, ill defended by a handful of undiſciplined vagabonds, almoſt unarmed.

But Perrier, in whom the authority was veſted, did not loſe that preſence of mind which courage inſpires. The leſs he was able to reſiſt, the more haughtineſs he affected. Theſe appearances had ſuch an effect, that either for fear of being ſuſpected, or in hopes of pardon, many of the conſpirators joined with him to deſtroy the Natches. This nation was put to the ſword, their houſes were burnt, and no remains of them were left but the place they had formerly occupied.

Some few, however, of this unfortunate people, who happened to be diſperſed at a diſtance from the center of their dominions, had time to take refuge among the Chickaſaws, the moſt intrepid nation in Louiſiana. This nation had entered with greater warmth into the league againſt the French, than the reſt; their undaunted and generous ſpirit made the laws of hoſpitality, which are inviolable among all ſavages, ſtill more ſacred to them; ſo that no perſon dared at firſt to inſiſt on their delivering up the Natches, to whom they had afforded refuge. But Bienville, who ſoon after ſucceeded Perrier, had the boldneſs to demand that thoſe fugitives ſhould be given up. The indians had the courage to refuſe; and he immediately ſent out all the troops of the colony againſt them in 1736. They formed two ſeparate corps; one was repulſed with conſiderable loſs before the principal fort of the Chickaſaws; the other was totally defeated in the open field. A ſecond attempt was made four years after to ſubdue them with

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freſh forces from Europe and Canada. The French arms were as unſucceſsful as before, till ſome fortunate incidents brought on an accommodation with the Indians. Since that period, nothing has diſturbed the repoſe of Louiſiana. We ſhall now ſee to what degree of proſperity this long peace has raiſed the colony.

What the French have done in Louiſiana.

THE coaſts of Louiſiana, which are all ſituated on the gulph of Mexico, are in general flat, often overflowed, and every where covered with fine ſand, as white as ſnow, and entirely barren. They are neither inhabited nor capable of being ſo. No forts have ever been erected upon theſe coaſts, becauſe there is no poſſibility of invading or making a deſcent upon them. The French have not eſtabliſhed any ſettlements on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi. The had, indeed, formed ſome deſigns on the bay of St. Barnard in 1721; but they miſcarried by the neglect of the officer who was intruſted with the execution of them. Inſtead of obeying the orders that had been given him, he entered the river Magdalena, which lay in his way, ſailed up five or ſix leagues of it, carried off a few ſavages, and returned to the place from whence he came. The next year, when an attempt was made to correct this miſtake, the poſt was occupied by ſome Spaniards from Vera Cruz.

To the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi is ſituated Fort Mobile, on the banks of the river of the ſame name, the courſe of which extends no leſs than

one

one hundred and thirty leagues. It is intended as a check upon the Chactaws, the Alibamous, and some ſmaller tribes, to keep them in alliance with France, and to ſecure their fur trade. The Spaniards of Penſacola buy up ſome proviſions and merchandiſe at this ſettlement, BOOK XVI.

THERE are a great number of outlets at the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, which are not always to be found in the ſame ſituation. Many of them are often dry. Some will only admit boats and canoes, and there is but one that can receive ſhips of five hundred tons burthen. On the channel through which they muſt ſail, a kind of citadel is built, which is called La Baliſe. Twenty leagues higher up are two forts which flank both ſides of the river, and defend it from all attacks. Though in themſelves but indifferent, they would yet be able to oppoſe the paſſage of a hundred ſhips, eſpecially as only one ſhip could come in at a time, and even that could neither caſt anchor, nor come to a mooring at that place.

NEW ORLEANS is the firſt ſettlement that preſents itſelf. It is thirty leagues diſtant from the ſea. It was begun in 1717, but made no progreſs till 1722, when it became the chief place of the colony. At this period, the plan of a handſome city was traced out, which has been gradually and inſenſibly, as it were, raiſed. The ſtreets are all ſtraight, and croſs each other at right angles. They form ſixty-five detached pieces of ground, each containing fifty toiſes ſquare,

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which are divided into twelve parcels for as many inhabitants to build upon. The huts which formerly covered this great ſpace are now transformed into commodious houſes moſtly built with brick. The are all ſurrounded with canals, which communicate with each other. This was thought to be a neceſſary precaution againſt the floods. This city, intended to be the center of all intercourſe between the mother country and the colony, was built on the eaſt ſide of the river. The landing is ſo eaſy that the largeſt ſhips need only make a little bridge with planks in order to unload their goods. But when the waters are high, it is neceſſary they ſhould haſten their departure, becauſe the quantity of wood that floats down the river at that time would accumulate in the anchoring place, and cut the largeſt cables aſunder.

The buildings are ranged in an uninterrupted line on both ſides of the river. Below New Orleans, they extend but five leagues, and are not very conſiderable. Lower down the land begins to diminiſh in width, and continues conſtantly to decreaſe till it comes to the ſea. Upon this neck of land, nothing is to be ſeen but ſands and marſhes which afford no ſhelter to the human ſpecies, and are only fit for the reception of water fowls and Moſchettoes. The plantations up the Miſſiſippi, reach ten leagues above the town. The moſt diſtant have been cleared by Germans, who with indefatigable labour have erected two villages, inhabited by the moſt induſtrious men in the colony.

In

In all this extent of fifteen leagues of cultivated land, the river has been embanked, to preſerve the lands from the inundations, which return regularly every ſpring. The bank is preſerved by broad ditches, cut round every field, to drain off the waters, which might otherwiſe overthrow this dike.

THROUGHOUT the whole ſpace, the ſoil is very muddy, and extremely proper for productions that require a moiſt ſituation. When it becomes neceſſary to break up any freſh ground, the great reeds with which it is overrun are firſt cut down. As ſoon as they are dry, they are ſet fire to. If the earth is then but ever ſo ſlightly ſtirred, it produces great plenty of rice, Indian corn, and all ſorts of grain, pulſe or other vegetables, that are ſown upon it, except wheat, which runs to graſs from the too great luxuriancy of the ſoil.

POSSIBLY the inhabitants, which are ſcattered along the banks of the river, might have been more judiciouſly diſpoſed four or five hundred paces further off, or even at the diſtance of half a league, upon ſome little eminences, which are very frequent near that ſpot. A more pure air and a good bottom would have been found there, and, probably, wheat would have ſucceeded, when the woods had been cleared. The fertility of the grounds, if left open to the annual inundation of the river, could not have been equalled, becauſe the waters, as they ſubſided, would conſtantly have enriched them with a freſh ſupply of ſlime, which would

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would have greatly promoted vegetation. In proceſs of time, both ſides of the Miſſiſippi would have been enriched by extenſive paſtures covered with innumerable flocks and herds; a range of gardens, orchards, and plantations of rice, ſufficient for a great number of inhabitants. This glorious proſpect might have been extended from New Orleans, all over the lower Louiſiana; and thus a ſecond France would have appeared in America.

INSTEAD of this delightful proſpect, ten leagues above New Orleans, begins an immenſe deſert, where there are only two wretched towns, inhabited by ſavages. This deſert extends thirty leagues, as far as the place called Pointe Coupée, which is the work of European induſtry. Here the Miſſiſippi formerly made a conſiderable bend. Some Frenchmen, by digging at the bottom of a rivulet that ran behind a point of land, brought the waters of the river into it. They flowed with ſuch impetuoſity into this new channel, that they entirely cut off the remainder of the point, and by this circumſtance the navigation has been made ſhorter by fourteen leagues. The old bed of the river was ſoon dry, and was covered with ſuch large trees as aſtoniſhed all who had ſeen them ſpring up. This happy change gave life, ſtability and fame to one of the beſt ſettlements in that country.

THE inhabitants, ſettled on both ſides of the river, have embelliſhed their habitations with all kinds

kinds of European fruit-trees, none of which have degenerated. For their own conſumption they cultivate rice and maize, and for exportation cotton, and eſpecially tobacco. The ſale of their timber is likewiſe a profitable article.

TWENTY leagues above the Pointe Coupée, the Red river falls into the Miſſiſippi; upon which the French have built a fort thirty-five leagues from the mouth of it. It was in the country of the Natſitoches that this foundation of power and commerce was laid. The deſign was to convey into the colony through this channel the gold and ſilver of New Mexico, which had already circulated near the ſpot. But theſe hopes were fruſtrated by the poverty of the inhabitants, and the little intercourſe they had with richer places. The only advantage reaped from that neighbourhood was that it ſupplied oxen and horſes, which were not to be had in Louiſiana. Since they have multiplied there, and no ſupplies are wanted from abroad, that poſt, the inhabitants of which had not attended to agriculture, has continually degenerated; and this loſs is the more to be lamented, as the colony of the Natches is ſtill in a greater decline.

ITS ſituation, which is at a hundred and ten leagues from the ſea, was the moſt favourable that Yberville could meet with in ſailing up the river. He found no ſpot more eligible for the capital of the intended colony. All who viewed it after him, were equally delighted with the advantages

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vantages it preſented. The climate was healthy and temperate; the ſoil fit for tobacco, cotton, indigo, and every kind of culture; the ground high enough to be in no danger from the inundations; the country open, extenſive, well watered, and within reach of every ſettlement that might be made. Its diſtance from the ocean was no impediment to the arrival of ſhips. So flattering a proſpect very ſoon engaged a colony of five hundred men to ſettle there, when their intolerable ambition occaſioned their total deſtruction by the hands of the exaſperated ſavages. Thoſe who came after to ſupply their place, and avenge their death, did not bring this ſettlement to any greater degree of proſperity, either becauſe they were negligent, or met with freſh difficulties.

A hundred and twenty leagues above the Natches is the colony of the Akanſas. It would have become very conſiderable, if the nine thouſand Germans, raiſed in the Palatine with a view to form it, had arrived there ſafe. They were an honeſt and induſtrious people, but they all periſhed before they arrived at the place of their deſtination. The Canadians who fixed there in coming down the river, found a delightful climate, a fruitful ſoil, eaſe and tranquillity. As they had been accuſtomed to live with ſavages, they were not averſe from marrying the daughters of the Akanſas, and theſe alliances were attended with the happieſt conſequences. There never was the leaſt coolneſs between the two nations united by

theſe

these inter-marriages, though so different from each other. They have lived in that state of commerce, and that intercourse of good offices, which the fluctuating state of affairs occasionally required.

The like harmony, though in a less degree, subsists among the Illinois, who are three hundred leagues distant from the Akansas: for in America the nations are not contiguous as they are in Europe, and are on that account more independent, both at home and abroad. They have no chiefs who to combine together, either to wrest them from, or sacrifice them to, each other; and render their condition so miserable, that they are indifferent to which they belong. The nation of the Illinois, the most northern in Louisiana, was constantly overcome, and always in danger of being destroyed by the Iroquois and other nations from the north, when the French arrived among them from Canada. These Europeans, who were renowned for their valour in that part of the new continent, were favourably received and their interest courted, as being able to make the most vigorous opposition against an old and inveterate enemy. The strangers have so much increased, that they fill six considerable villages, while the natives, who were formerly very populous, are now limited to three towns, which do not contain above two thousand souls. Both have forsaken the river which gave its name to the country, in order to settle towards the south of it on the more pleasant and fertile banks of the Mississippi. This settlement,

the

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the fertility of which it is impoſſible to exaggerate, is become the granary of the whole colony, and might ſupply it with plenty of corn, if it were peopled even as far as the ſea. But it is far from being in ſo proſperous a ſtate.

NEVER did Louiſiana in its greateſt ſplendour reckon more than five thouſand white people, including twelve hundred men who compoſed the military force of the colony. This ſmall number was diſperſed through the banks of the Miſſiſippi, along an extent of five hundred leagues, and defended by two or three bad forts conſtructed at different diſtances: it did not, however, conſiſt of the dregs of Europe, which France had ſent over into America, at the time when Law's ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed. All thoſe miſerable men had fortunately periſhed without leaving any poſterity. The coloniſts of Louiſiana were robuſt men, arrived from Canada, or diſbanded ſoldiers, who had ſenſibly preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleneſs, the natural conſequence of pride and prejudice. Every inhabitant received from the government, not only a piece of ground, with ſeed to ſow it, but likewiſe a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow and a calf, a cock and ſix hens, with a plentiful ſupply of wholeſome proviſions for three years. Some officers and a few men of ſubſtance had improved theſe riſing ſettlements by conſiderable plantations, which employed ſix thouſand ſlaves.

BUT the produce of their labour was very inconſiderable. The annual exports of the colony did

did not exceed 200,000 crowns.* They consisted of rice, planks, maize, and pulse for the sugar islands; cotton, indigo, tobacco and furs for the mother country. BOOK XVI.

What the French might have done in Louisiana.

This settlement, which seemed intended by nature for a capital one, would, probably, have prospered, had it not been for an original error adopted of granting lands indiscriminately to every person who applied for them, and in the manner in which he desired them. There would not then have been any colonists separated from each other by deserts of several hundred leagues, and desirous of forming such a settlement as would have constituted a small state in Europe. Had they fixed in a common center, they might have assisted each other, and living under the same laws, have enjoyed all the advantages of a well-regulated society. As population increased, the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent. Instead of a few hordes of savages, we should have seen a rising colony, which might in time have become a powerful nation, and procured infinite advantages to France.

The French, who annually purchase from foreign powers seventeen millions weight of tobacco, would easily have been supplied with that commodity from Louisiana. Twelve or fifteen thousand men skilled in the cultivation of it, would have furnished a sufficient quantity for the consumption

* 26,250l.

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consumption of the whole kingdom. Such were the hopes the government entertained, when they ordered all the tobacco plantations in Guiana to be deſtroyed. Convinced that the lands in that province were adapted to more important and richer cultures, and would produce neceſſary articles of greater conſequence, they thought it would be advantageous both to the mother country and the colony, to ſecure to Louiſiana, then in its infant ſtate, a market for that production, which would more eaſily ſucceed and bring in greater returns, as it required leſs time, experience and expence. When Law, the projector of this undertaking, fell into diſcredit, his moſt rational ſchemes were laid aſide, and ſhared the ſame fate as thoſe which were merely the offſpring of a diſordered imagination. The farmers of the revenue, who were gainers by this miſtake, omitted nothing to encourage it; and every patriot muſt be allowed to ſay, that this is not one of the leaſt miſchiefs the finance has done to the monarchy.

The wealth which tobacco would have procured to the colony, would have made it ſenſible of the advantages that might be derived from the ſpacious and beautiful meadows with which that country abounds. They would ſoon have been covered with cattle; whoſe hides would have ſupplied the mother country with leather, without importing any from abroad, and whoſe fleſh when prepared and ſalted, would have been diſpoſed of in

in the iſlands, inſtead of Iriſh beef. Horſes and mules, multiplying in the ſame proportion as the horned cattle, would have freed the French colonies from the dependence they have always had upon the Engliſh and Spaniards for this neceſſary article. BOOK XVI.

As ſoon as the coloniſts had begun to exert themſelves, they would have proceeded from one branch of induſtry to another. They could not poſſibly avoid building ſhips, becauſe they had the materials at hand. The country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir-trees that grew in great plenty along the coaſt, would have afforded maſts and tar. There was no want of oak for the planks, and if there had been, it might have been ſupplied by cypreſs, which is leſs apt to ſplit, bend or break, and whoſe additional thickneſs might have compenſated for its want of ſtrength and hardneſs. They might eaſily have grown hemp for the ſails and rigging. Nothing, perhaps, need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable that there are iron mines in Louiſiana. It is likely that the government, encouraged by the ſucceſs of individuals, would ſoon have erected docks for ſhip-building, and ſtorehouſes ready for equipping and fitting out fleets in America.

THE foreſts being felled for theſe purpoſes without any expence, and even with advantage, the ground would have been laid open for corn, cotton, indigo, flax or olive-trees; and even ſilk

BOOK XVI. might have been undertaken with ſucceſs, when once the colony had been ſufficiently populous to attend to an employment, which the mildneſs of the climate, the increaſe of mulberry trees, and ſome ſucceſsful trials had conſtantly invited them to undertake. In ſhort, what might not have been expected from a country, where the air is temperate, and ground even, freſh, and fertile; and which properly ſpeaking had never yet been inhabited, but traverſed careleſsly, by vagabonds equally deſtitute of ſkill and conduct.

HAD Louiſiana attained to that degree of perfection it was capable of, its harbour would ſoon have been made more eaſy of acceſs and more commodious; and this might have been done by attending conſtantly to it, without incurring any great expence. For this purpoſe it would have been ſufficient to have ſtopped up all thoſe uſeleſs paſſes, which are rather a hindrance than a help to navigation, with the floating trees waſhed down by the river. The whole force of the ſtream being thus confined to one channel, it would have become deeper at the mouth of the river, and the bar which almoſt ſhuts it up, would, probably, have been removed. The largeſt ſhips might then have ſailed into the Miſſiſippi with more eaſe and ſafety than the ſmalleſt do at preſent. After this, thoſe thick foreſts that intercept the wind might have been felled, and the navigation up the river to New Orleans rendered leſs tedious. Every art and ſcience and uſeful improvement, would

would have ſucceſſively appeared to form a flouriſhing and vigorous colony in that ſpacious plain.

France cedes Louiſiana to the Spaniards.

Whether ſhe had a right to do this?

But France overlooked all theſe advantages when ſhe ceded that country, which alone could compenſate her former loſſes, and gave it up to Spain, to whom it could only be a burthen. It may, perhaps, for a long time remain a political problem, whether this ceſſion was not alike detrimental to both kingdoms, which were equally weakened by it; the one, by giving up what ſhe ought to have retained, and the other by accepting what ſhe could not keep. But in a moral view, may it not be conſidered as an illegal act thus to have ſold or given away the members of the community to a foreign power? For what right has a prince to diſpoſe of his ſubjects without their conſent?

What becomes of the rights of the people, if all is due from the nation to the prince, and nothing from the prince to the nation? Are there then no rights but thoſe of princes? Theſe pretend to derive their power from God alone. This maxim which is invented by the clergy, only with a deſign of raiſing kings above the people, that they themſelves may command even kings in the name of the deity, is no more than an iron chain, to bind a whole nation under the power of one man. It is no longer a mutual tie of love and virtue, of intereſt and fidelity, that gives to one family the rule in the midſt of a ſociety,

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But why ſhould the ſovereign authority wiſh to conceal its being derived from men? Kings are ſufficiently informed by nature, experience, hiſtory, and their own conſciouſneſs, that it is of the people they hold all they poſſeſs, whether conquered by arms, or acquired by treaty. As they receive from the people all the marks of obedience, why ſhould they refuſe to accept from them all the rights of authority? Nothing is to be apprehended from voluntary ſubmiſſion, nor is any thing to be obtained by the abuſe of uſurped power. It can only be ſupported by violence; and is it poſſible that a prince can be happy who commands only by force, and is obeyed only through fear? He cannot ſit eaſy upon his throne, when he cannot reign without aſſerting that he holds his crown from God alone. Every man may more truly affirm, that he holds from God his life, his liberty, the unalienable right of being governed only by reaſon and juſtice. The welfare then and ſecurity of the people is the ſupreme law on which all others depend. This is, undoubtedly, the real fundamental law of all ſociety. It is by this we muſt interpret every particular law which muſt be derived from this principle, and ſerve to explain and ſupport it.

If we apply this rule to the treaties of diviſion and ceſſion which kings make between themſelves, will it appear that they have the right of buying, ſelling or exchanging their ſubjects without their conſent? Shall princes then arrogate to them-

themſelves the barbarous right of alienating or mortgaging their provinces and their ſubjects as they would their effects or eſtates; while the ſupplies granted for the ſupport of their houſe, the foreſts of their domain, the jewels of their crown, are all ſacred unalienable effects, which we muſt never have recourſe to, even in the moſt preſſing exigencies of the ſtate.——Methinks I hear the voice of a numerous colony exclaiming from America, and addreſſing the mother country, in the following terms. BOOK XVI.

"WHAT have I done to thee, that thou ſhouldſt "deliver me up into the hands of a ſtranger? "Did I not ſpring from thy loins? Have I not "ſown, planted, cultivated, and reaped for thee "alone? When thy ſhips conveyed me to theſe "ſhores, ſo different from thy own happy cli- "mate, didſt thou not engage for ever to protect "me with thy fleets and armies? Have I not "fought in ſupport of thy rights, and defended "the country thou gaveſt me? After having fer- "tilized it by my labour, have I not maintained "it for thee at the expence of my blood? Thy "children were my parents or my brethren; thy "laws my boaſt, and thy name my pride: that "name which I have ſtriven to render illuſtrious "among nations to whom it was unknown. I "have procured thee friends and allies among "the ſavages. I flattered myſelf with the "thought that I might one day come in compe- "tition with thy rivals, and be the terror of thy

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"enemies. But thou haſt forſaken me. Thou haſt bound me without my conſent by a treaty, the very concealment of which was a treachery. Unfeeling, ungrateful parent, how couldſt thou break, in oppoſition to the dictates of nature, the ties by which I was attached to thee, even from my birth? While with inceſſant and painful toil I was reſtoring to thee the tribute of nouriſhment and ſubſiſtence I had received from thee, I wiſhed for no other comfort than that of living and dying under thy law. That comfort thou haſt refuſed me. Thou haſt torn me from my family to deliver me up to a maſter whom I did not approve. Reſtore my parent to me; reſtore me to him whoſe name I have been uſed to call upon from my earlieſt infancy. It is in thy power to make me ſubmit againſt my will to a yoke which I abhor; but this ſubmiſſion will only be temporary. I ſhall languiſh and periſh with grief and weakneſs; or if I ſhould recover life and vigour, it will only be to withdraw myſelf from connections I deteſt; though I ſhould even be compelled to deliver myſelf up to thy enemies?"

Louisiana being in fact oppreſſed by her new maſters, was deſirous of ſhaking off a yoke which ſhe abhorred even before it was impoſed; but being rejected by France when ſhe endeavoured to put herſelf again under her protection, ſhe returned under the dominion of the ſame power from whoſe chains ſhe had attempted to free herſelf.

ſelf. The cruelties ſhe has experienced from the reſentment of an incenſed government, have ſerved only to increaſe a hatred already too inveterate to be forgotten. With ſuch diſpoſitions, the colony can ſcarce flatter itſelf with the proſpect of any degree of proſperity. Canada, though it has likewiſe changed its mother country, will not meet with the ſame obſtacles to its improvement.

State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht.

At the peace of Utrecht, this vaſt country was in a ſtate of weakneſs and miſery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who firſt came there, and who rather threw themſelves into this country, than ſettled in it. Moſt of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more ſenſible among them had attempted ſome cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, haſtily tilled and built upon, was as haſtily forſaken. The expences, however, the government had laid out, together with the profits of the fur trade, afforded ſometimes the inhabitants a tolerable ſubſiſtence; but a ſeries of unfortunate wars ſoon deprived them of theſe advantages. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed a hundred thouſand crowns*. This ſum, added to 350,000 livres†, which the government ſent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon, for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed theſe were ſo few, that the generality were reduced to wear ſkins like the Indians.

* 13,125l. † 15,312l. 10s.

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Such was the diſtreſsful ſituation of the far greater part of twenty thouſand French, ſuppoſed to inhabit theſe immenſe regions.

Population, agriculture, manners, government, fiſheries, induſtry, and revenues of Canada.

THE happy ſpirit which at that time animated the ſeveral parts of the world, rouzed Canada from that ſtate of indolence and inactivity in which it had ſo long been plunged. It appears from the eſtimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the inhabitants amounted to 91,000, excluſive of the regular troops, whoſe numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

THIS calculation did not include the many allies diſperſed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of conſiderable breadth, nor the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the center of the French ſettlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of theſe were ever conſidered as ſubjects, though they lived in the midſt of a great European colony: the ſmalleſt clans ſtill preſerved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the ſavage alone enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual is truly free. The conſciouſneſs of his independence influences all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Aſiatic monarch, in the ſame manner as he would the cottage of a peaſant, and neither be dazzled with his ſplendour, nor awed by his power. It is his own ſpecies, it is mankind, it is his equal that he loves and reſpects, but he would hate a maſter and deſtroy him.

PART

PART of the French colony was centered in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues diſtant from France, and 120 leagues from the ſea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninſula, made by the river St. Lawrence, and the river St. Charles, and commands a proſpect over extenſive fields, which ſerve to enrich it, and over a very ſafe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ſhips. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better ſecurity than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that divide the peninſula. The houſes are tolerably well built. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 at the beginning of the year 1759. This place was the center of commerce, and the ſeat of government.

THE city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and ſituated thirty leagues higher, was raiſed with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this ſettlement, though promiſing at firſt, never contained more than 1500 inhabitants, becauſe the fur trade was ſoon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

MONTREAL is an iſland, ten leagues long and almoſt four broad, formed by the river St. Lawrence, ſixty leagues above Quebec. It is the moſt temperate, pleaſant and fruitful ſpot in all the country. A few huts thrown up there as it were

by

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by chance in 1640, were improved to a regular built town, which contained four thouſand inhabitants. At firſt it lay expoſed to the inſults of the ſavages, but was afterwards incloſed with ſlight palliſades, and then with a wall, conſtructed about fifteen feet high, with battlements. It fell to decay, when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country, to ſecure the fur trade.

THE other coloniſts, who were not contained within the walls of theſe three cities, did not live in towns, but were ſcattered along the banks of the river St. Lawrence. None were to be ſeen near the mouth of that river, where the ſoil is rugged and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The firſt habitations to the ſouth, were built at fifty leagues, and to the north, at twenty leagues below Quebec; they were at a great diſtance from each other, and their produce was but indifferent. No very fertile fields were to be found but in the neighbourhood of its capital, and they improved as one approached Montreal. There cannot be a more beautiful proſpect than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Detached woods adding beauty to the tops of the verdant mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, ſmall ſtreams of water flowing down to the river, churches and caſtles ſeen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a ſucceſſion of the moſt inchanting views. Theſe would have been ſtill more delightful, if the edict of 1745 had

had been obſerved, which forbad the coloniſt from dividing his plantations, unleſs they were an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth. Indolent heirs would not then have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers. They would have been compelled to form new plantations; and vaſt ſpaces of fallow land would no longer have ſeparated rich and cultivated plains. BOOK XVI.

NATURE herſelf directed the labours of the huſbandman, and taught him that watery and ſandy grounds, and thoſe where the pine, the fir tree and the cedar grew ſolitary, were unfavourable to agriculture; but wherever he found a ſoil covered with maple, oak, beach, hornbeam and ſmall cherry trees, he might reaſonably expect that his wheat would yield twenty times, and his Indian corn thirty times as much as before, without the trouble of manuring.

THE plantations though not equally large, all afforded a ſufficient ſupply for the wants of their reſpective owners. There were few of them that did not yield maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulſe, and pot-herbs in great plenty, and excellent in their kind.

MOST of the inhabitants had a ſcore of ſheep whoſe wool was very valuable to them, ten or a dozen milch cows, and five or ſix oxen for the plough. The cattle were ſmall, but their fleſh was excellent, and theſe people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

WITH

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With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a good number of horſes; which were not fine, but fit for drudgery, and able to perform journeys of amazing length upon the ſnow. And indeed the coloniſts took ſuch delight in increaſing the breed of them, that in winter time they would feed them with the corn which they themſelves wanted ſometimes at another ſeaſon.

Such was the ſituation of the 83,000 French, diſperſed or collected on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the upper country, there were 8000 more, who were rather addicted to hunting and trade than to huſbandry.

Their firſt ſettlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671 at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to ſtop the inroads of the Engliſh and Iroquois. The bay of this place ſerved as a harbour for the men of war and trading veſſels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a ſea, and where ſtorms are almoſt as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, each of which meaſures 300 leagues in circumference, lies a tract of land fourteen leagues in extent. This tract is interſected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, breadth and ſhape, and from the quantity and impetuoſity of its waters, is juſtly accounted the moſt wonderful cataract in the world. It was above

above this grand and awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a deſign to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the rival nation. BOOK XVI.

Beyond the lake Erie is an extent of land, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Streight, which exceeds all Canada for the mildneſs of the climate, the beauty and variety of the proſpects, the richneſs of the ſoil, and the profuſion of game and fiſh. Nature has laviſhed all her bleſſings to enrich this delightful ſpot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to ſettle there in the beginning of the preſent century. It was the vicinity of ſeveral Indian nations who could ſupply them with conſiderable quantities of furs; and, indeed, this trade increaſed very faſt.

The ſucceſs of this new ſettlement proved fatal to the poſt of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greateſt part of the trade which uſed to be carried on there with the natives, was transferred to the Streight, where it continued.

Beſides the forts already mentioned, there are ſome of leſs note, built in different parts of the coontry, either upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains. The firſt ſentiment intereſt inſpires, is that of miſtruſt, and its firſt impulſe, is that of attack or defence. Each of theſe forts was provided with a garriſon, which defended

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fended the French who were ſettled in the neighbourhood. There were in all 8000 ſouls, who inhabited the upper country.

THE manners of the French coloniſts ſettled in Canada were not always anſwerable to the climate they inhabited. Thoſe that lived in the country, ſpent their winter in idleneſs, penſively ſitting by their fire-ſide. When the return of ſpring called them out to the indiſpenſable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground ſuperficially without ever manuring it, ſowed it careleſsly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harveſt time. As the people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be ſeen of that ſprightly joy, which on a fine ſummer's day enlivens the reapers, while they are gathering in their rich harveſt. That of the Canadians was confined to a ſmall quantity of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbage and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in that country.

THIS amazing negligence might be owing to ſeveral cauſes. The exceſſive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, totally prevented them from exerting their abilities. They contracted ſuch a habit of idleneſs during the continuance of the ſevere weather for eight months ſucceſſively, that labour appeared inſupportable to them even in the fineſt weather. The numerous feſtivals preſcribed by their religion, which owed its increaſe

creaſe to their eſtabliſhment, prevented the firſt exertion, as well as interrupted the progreſs of induſtry. Men are ready enough to comply with that ſpecies of devotion that flatters their indolence. Laſtly, a paſſion for war, which had been purpoſely encouraged among theſe bold and courageous men, made them averſe from the labours of huſbandry. Their minds were ſo entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

THE inhabitants of the cities, eſpecially of the capital, ſpent the winter as well as the ſummer, in a conſtant ſcene of diſſipation. They were alike inſenſible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleaſures of imagination; they had no taſte for arts or ſciences, for reading or inſtruction. Their only paſſion was amuſement, and perſons of all ages were fond of dancing at aſſemblies. This manner of life conſiderably increaſed the influence of the women, who were poſſeſſed of every attraction, except thoſe ſoft emotions of the ſoul, which alone conſtitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inſpiring than feeling the tender paſſions. There appeared in both ſexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher ſenſe of honour than of real honeſty. Superſtition took place of morality, which will always be the caſe wherever men are taught to believe that ceremo-

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nies will compenſate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

IDLENESS, prejudice and levity would never have gained ſuch an aſcendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to laſting and uſeful objects. But all the coloniſts were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the ſlow and ſure proceſs of laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to ſubmit to without examination. Delays, repreſentations, excuſes of honour, were ſo many crimes in the eyes of a deſpotic ruler, who had uſurped a power of puniſhing or abſolving merely by his word. He had in his own power all favours and penalties, rewards and puniſhments; the right of impriſoning without the ſhadow of a crime, and the ſtill more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as ſo many acts of juſtice, though they were but the irregular ſallies of his own caprice.

IN early times, this unlimited power was not exerciſed in matters of military diſcipline and political adminiſtration only, but extended even to civil juriſdiction. The governor decided abſolutely and without appeal, all differences ariſing between the coloniſts. Theſe conteſts were fortunately very rare, in a country where all things might almoſt be ſaid to be in common. This dangerous authority

thority subsisted till 1663, at which period a tri- BOOK
bunal was erected in the capital for the definitive XVI.
trial of all causes depending throughout the colony. The custom of Paris, modified in conformity to local circumstances, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The administration of the finances in Canada, only required a few fines of alienation; a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards maintaining the fortifications; and some duties upon all goods imported and exported, which, indeed, were too high. In 1747, all these several articles brought no more than 260,200* livres into the treasury.

The lands were not taxed by government, but were not on that account entirely exempt from taxes. A great error was committed at the first settling of the colony, in granting to officers and gentlemen a piece of land, from two to four leagues in front, and unlimitted in breadth. These great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates, and were therefore, under a necessity of making over their lands to soldiers or planters, upon condition that they should pay them a kind of ground-rent or homage for ever. This was introducing into America something similar to the feudal government, which was so long fatal to Europe. The lord ceded ninety acres to each of his vassals, who

* 11,383l. 15s.

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on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two ſols per acre, and a buſhel and a half of corn for the entire grant. This tax, though but a ſmall one, maintained a conſiderable number of idle people, at the expence of the only claſs with which a colony ought to have been peopled. The truly uſeful inhabitants who were engaged in laborious employments, found the burthen of maintaining an annuitant nobility increaſed, by the additional exactions of the clergy. In 1667, the tithes were impoſed. They were, indeed, reduced to a twenty-ſixth part of the crops, notwithſtanding the clamours of that rapacious body; but ſtill this was an oppreſſion in a country where the clergy had property allotted them which was ſufficient for their maintenance.

So many impediments previouſly oppoſed to the progreſs of agriculture, diſabled the colony from paying for the neceſſaries that came from the mother country. The French miniſtry were at laſt ſo fully convinced of this truth, that after having always obſtinately oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in America, they thought it their intereſt even to promote them in 1706. But thoſe late encouragements had very little effect, and the united induſtry of the coloniſts could never produce more than a few coarſe linens, and ſome very bad woollens.

The fiſheries were not much more attended to than the manufactures. The only one that could become an object of exportation was that of the ſeal. This animal has been ranked in the claſs of fiſh,

fiſh, though he is not dumb, is always produced on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is ſomewhat like that of a maſtiff. He has four paws which are very ſhort, eſpecially the hinder ones, which ſerve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are ſhaped like fins, but the fore feet have claws. His ſkin is hard and covered with ſhort hair. He is at firſt white, but turns ſandy or black, as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all theſe three different colours. BOOK XVI.

THERE are two different kinds of ſeals. The larger one ſometimes weighs two thouſand pounds, and ſeems to have a ſharper ſnout than the others. The ſmall ones, whoſe ſkin is commonly marbled, are active, and more dextrous in extricating themſelves out of the ſnares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them ſo far as to make them follow them.

THEY couple upon the rocks, and ſometimes on the ice, and it is there alſo that the dams bring forth their young. They commonly bear two, and they uſually ſuckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to ſwim, it is ſaid they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are ſtrong enough to ſwim of themſelves. Moſt little birds flutter about from ſpray to ſpray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boiſterous winds; it is not there-

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fore ſurpriſing, that the ſeal produced on land, ſhould uſe her little ones to live under water.

THERE is a very ſimple manner of fiſhing for theſe amphibious animals; who are uſed, when they are in the ſea to enter into the creeks with the tide. As ſoon as ſome place is diſcovered where they reſort in ſhoals, it is ſurrounded with nets and ſtakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high water this opening is ſtopped up, and when the tide is gone down, the fiſh remains on dry ground. All that is neceſſary is to kill them. Sometimes the fiſhermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are eaſily caught; if they are kil'ed, they ſink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs, that are trained up to dive for them ſeven or eight fathom under water.

THE ſkin of the ſeal was formerly uſed for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make ſhoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If it is not quite ſo fine, however it preſerves its colour longer.

THE fleſh of the ſeal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil For this purpoſe, it is ſufficient to ſet it on the fire in a copper or earthen veſſel. It is thought frequently ſufficient to ſpread the fat upon large ſquares made of boards, where it melts

of

of itſelf, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpoſe. It keeps clear for a long time, has no bad ſmell, and leaves no ſediment. It is uſed for burning and dreſſing leather. BOOK XVI.

Five or ſix ſmall ſhips were fitted out yearly from Canada for the ſeal fiſhery in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and one or two leſs for the Caribbee iſlands. It received from the iſlands nine or ten veſſels laden with rum, molaſſes, coffee, and ſugar; and from France about thirty ſhips, whoſe lading together might amount to nine thouſand tons.

In the interval between the two laſt wars, which was the moſt flouriſhing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 1,200,000* livres in furs; 800,000† in beaver, 250,000‡ in ſeal oil, the ſame in flour and peas, and 150,000 livres§ in wood of all kinds. Theſe ſeveral articles put together, amounted but to 2,650,000 livres‖ a year, a ſum inſufficient to pay for the commodities ſent from the mother country. The government made up the deficiency.

When the French were in poſſeſſion of Canada, the had very little ſpecie. The little that was brought in from time to time by the new ſettlers, did not continue in the country, becauſe the neceſſitous ſtate of the colony ſoon occaſioned it to return. This was a great obſtacle to the progreſs of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Verſailles coined a particular ſort of money for the uſe of all the French ſettlements in

* 52,500l. † 35,000l. ‡ 10,937l. 10s.
§ 6,562l. 10s. ‖ 115,937l. 10s.

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America, and set a nominal value upon it, one fourth above the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at least with regard to New France. They, therefore, contrived to substitute paper currency instead of metal, for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This succeeded till the year 1713, when the engagements that had been made with the administrators of the colony were not faithfully observed. Their bills of exchange drawn upon the treasury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into discredit. They were at last paid off in 1720, with the loss of five-eighths.

This event occasioned the revival of the use of specie in Canada; but this expedient lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable and hazardous to send money to France, and so did all the colonies who had any remittances to make; so that they were the first to sollicit the re-establishment of paper-currency. This consisted of cards, on which were stamped the arms of France and Navarre, and they were signed by the governor, the intendant and the comptroller. They were of twenty-four*, twelve†, six‡, and three livres §; and of thirty ‖, fifteen **, and seven sols and a half ††. The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed a million

* 1l. 1s. † 10s. 6d. ‡ 5s. 3d. § 2s. 7d. ½.
‖ 1s. 3d. ¾. ** 7d. 7/12ths. †† 3d. ¾.

lion of livres*. When this ſum was not ſuffi cient for the demands of the public, the defi ciency was made up by orders ſigned only by the intendant. This was the firſt abuſe; but one of ſtill greater conſequence was that their number was unlimited. The ſmalleſt were of twenty ſols†, and the higheſt of a hundred livres ‡. Theſe different papers circulated in the colony, and ſupplied the want of ſpecie till the month of October. This was the lateſt ſeaſon for the ſhips to ſail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange payable in France by the government, which was ſuppoſed to have made uſe of the value. But they were ſo multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treaſury could no longer anſwer ſuch large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war that broke out two years after, ſo increaſed their number, that at laſt they were prohibited. This preſently raiſed the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as, on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the chief conſumer, he alone bore the loſs ariſing from the diſcarded paper, and from the dearneſs of the goods. In 1759, the miniſtry were obliged to ſtop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

The annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 livres,

* 43,750l. † 10d. ½. ‡ 4l. 7s. 6d.

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vres*, and before 1749 never were greater than 1,700,000†, were immenſe after that period. The year 1750 coſt 2,100,000‡, the year 1751, 2,700,000§; the year 1752, 4,090,000‖; the year 1753, 5,300,000**; the year 1754, 4,450,000††; the year 1755, 6,100,000‡‡; the year 1756, 11,300,000§§; the year 1757, 19,250,000‖‖; the year 1758, 27,900,000***; the year 1759, 26,000,000†††; the firſt eight months of the years 1760, 13,500,000‡‡‡. Of theſe prodigious ſums, ninety millions §§§ were owing at the peace.

THIS infamous debt was traced up to its origin, and the enormities that had given riſe to it were inquired into, as far as the diſtance of time and place would allow. The greateſt delinquents, who were become ſo in conſequence of the unlimited power and credit given by the government, were legally condemned to make conſiderable reſtitutions. They were however ſtill too moderate. The claims of private creditors were all diſcuſſed. Fortunately for them and for the nation, the miniſtry intruſted with this important and neceſſary buſineſs, were men of known integrity; who were not to be intimidated by the threats of power, nor bribed by the offers of fortune; who could not be impoſed upon by artifice, nor wearied out by difficulties. By ſteadily and impartially

* 17,500l. † 74,375l. ‡ 91,875l. § 118,125l. ‖ 178,937l. 10s. ** 231,875l. †† 194,687l. 10s. ‡‡ 266,875l. §§ 494,375l. ‖‖ 842,187l. *** 1,220,625l. ††† 1,137,500l. ‡‡‡ 590,625l. §§§ 3,500,000l.

ally holding an even balance between the intereſt of the public and the rights of individuals, they reduced the ſum total of the debts to thirty-eight millions.*

Advantages which France might have derived from Canada. Errors which have deprived her of them.

It was the fault of France if Canada was not worth the immenſe ſums that were beſtowed upon it. It had long ſince appeared that this vaſt region was every where capable of yielding prodigious crops, yet no more was cultivated than what was barely ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants. With moderate labour corn enough might have been raiſed to ſupply all the American iſlands, and even ſome parts of Europe. It is well known than in 1751, the colony ſent over two ſhip-loads of wheat to Marſeilles, which proved very good, and ſold very well. This exportation ought to have met with the greater encouragement, as the crops are liable to few accidents in that country, where the corn is ſown in May, and gathered in before the end of Auguſt.

If huſbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increaſed. There is ſuch plenty of paſture ground, and of acorns, that the colonies might eaſily have bred oxen and hogs, ſufficient to ſupply the French iſlands with beef and pork, without having recourſe to Iriſh beef. Poſſibly, theſe cattle might in time have increaſed ſufficiently to ſupply the ſhips of the mother country.

THEIR

* 1,662,000l.

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THEIR ſheep, which are eaſily bred in Canada, would have been no leſs advantageous to France. If their number were not conſiderable in a country where the dams commonly bear twins, it was owing to the ewes being left at all ſeaſons with the ram; and as they generally brought forth in February, the ſeverity of the weather deſtroyed a great many lambs; the inhabitants being alſo obliged to feed them with corn, found this ſo chargeable, that they did not much care to rear them. This might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the rams from the ewes from September to February. The lambs dropped in May would have been reared without any expence or hazard, and in a ſhort time the colony would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool which is known to be very fine and good, would have ſupplied the manufactures of France, inſtead of that which is imported from Andaluſia and Caſtile. The ſtate would have been enriched by this valuable commodity; and in return, the colony would have received variety of new and deſirable articles from the mother country.

THE Gin-ſeng would have been a great acquiſition to both. This plant, which the Chineſe procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720, by the Jeſuit Lafitau, in the foreſts of Canada, where it grows very common. It was ſoon carried to Canton, where it was much eſteemed,

ed, and ſold at an extravagant price. The Gin-ſeng, which at firſt ſold at Quebec for thirty or forty ſols * a pound, roſe to twenty-five livres †. In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 500,000 livres ‡. There was ſuch a demand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what ſhould have been dried gradually in the ſhade. This ſpoilt the ſale of the Gin-ſeng of Canada in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the coloniſts were ſeverely puniſhed for their exceſſive rapaciouſneſs, by the total loſs of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a ſource of opulence.

ANOTHER and a ſurer plan for the encouragement of induſtry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in thoſe parts. The only one that has ever attracted the notice of the Europeans, lies near the town of the Trois Rivieres; and was diſcovered near the ſurface of the ground. There are no mines that yield a greater quantity, and the beſt in Spain are not ſuperior to it for the pliability of the metal. A ſmith from Europe, who came thither in 1739, greatly improved the working of this mine, which till then had been but unſkilfully managed. From that time no other iron was uſed in the colony. They even exported ſome ſamples; but France would not be con-

* About 1s. 6d. on an average. † 1l. 1s. 10d. ½.
‡ 21,875l.

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convinced that this iron was the beſt for fire-arms. The ſcheme that was in agitation of making uſe of this iron would have been very favourable to the project which, after much irreſolution had at laſt been adopted, of forming a naval eſtabliſhment in Canada.

The firſt Europeans who landed on that vaſt region, found it entirely covered with foreſts. The principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all ſizes. Theſe woods when felled might have been conveyed with eaſe down the river St. Lawrence, and the numberleſs rivers that fall into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all theſe treaſures were overlooked or deſpiſed. At length the court of Verſailles thought proper to attend to them. They gave orders for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war, but unfortunately truſted the buſineſs to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private intereſt.

The timber ſhould have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres; whereas it was conſtantly fetched from marſhy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moiſture gives it a looſer and a richer texture. Inſtead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its deſtination, where being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moſs that rotted it. Inſtead of being put under ſheds when it was landed, it was left expoſed to the ſun in ſummer, to the ſnow in winter, and the rains in

ſpring.

ſpring and autumn. From thence it was conveyed into the dock yards, where it again ſuſtained the inclemency of the ſeaſons for two or three years. Negligence or diſhoneſty enhanced the price of every thing to ſuch a degree, that ſails, ropes, pitch and tar were imported from Europe into a country which, with a little induſtry, might have ſupplied the whole kingdom of France with all theſe materials. This bad management had brought the wood of Canada entirely into diſrepute, and effectually ruined the reſources which that country afforded for the navy.

The colony furniſhed the manufactures of the mother country with a branch of buſineſs that might almoſt be called an excluſive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at firſt was ſubjected to the oppreſſive reſtraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an ill uſe of their privilege, and really did ſo. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in Engliſh ſcarlet cloths, which thoſe people were very fond of wearing. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty per cent. more of their commodities in the Engliſh ſettlements than the company choſe to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the ſearch of the company agents, and exchanged their beaver for Engliſh cloth and India callicoe. Thus did France, by the abuſe of an inſtitution which ſhe was by no means obliged to maintain, deprive herſelf of the double advantage of furniſhing

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niſhing materials to ſome of her own manufactures, and of ſecuring a market for the produce of others. She was equally ignorant of the facility of eſtabliſhing a whale fiſhery in Canada.

THE chief ſources of this fiſhery are Davis's Streights and Greenland. Fifty ſhips come every year into the former of theſe latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the later. The Dutch are concerned in more than three fourths of them. The reſt are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburgh and England. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ſhips of 350 tons burden, upon an average muſt amount to 10,000,000 of livres.* The uſual produce of each is rated at 80,000 livres†, and conſequently the whole amount of the fiſhery cannot be leſs than 3,200,000 livres.‡ If we deduct from this the profits of the ſeamen who are employed in theſe hard and dangerous voyages, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

THESE circumſtances have by degrees influenced the Biſcayans to diſcontinue a trade, in which they were the firſt adventurers. Other Frenchmen have not been induced to take it up, inſomuch that the whole fiſhery has been totally abandoned by that nation, which of all others conſumed the greateſt quantity of blubber, whalebone and ſpermaceti. Many propoſals have been made for reſuming it in Canada. There was the fineſt proſpect of a plentiful fiſhery in the river St.

* 437,500l. † 3,500l. ‡ 140,000l.

St. Lawrence, attended with leſs danger and leſs expence than at Davis's Streights or Greenland. It has ever been the fate of this colony, that the beſt ſchemes relative to it have been unſucceſsful; and this in particular, of a whale fiſhery, which would not have failed to excite the activity of the coloniſts, and would have proved an excellent nurſery for ſeamen, has never met with the countenance of government. BOOK XVI.

The ſame remiſſneſs has baffled the ſcheme, ſo often planned, and twice or thrice attempted, of fiſhing for cod on both ſides of the river St. Lawrence. Very poſſibly the ſucceſs would not have fully anſwered the expectations of thoſe who propoſed it, as the fiſh is but indifferent, and proper beaches are wanting to dry it. But the gulph would have made ample amends. It abounds with cod, which might have been carried to Newfoundland or Louiſbourg, and advantageouſly bartered for the productions of the Caribbee iſlands and for European commodities. Every circumſtance conſpired to promote the proſperity of the ſettlements in Canada, if they had been aſſiſted by the men who ſeemed to be moſt intereſted in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable want of induſtry, which ſuffered them to remain in the ſame wretched ſtate they were in at firſt?

It muſt be confeſſed ſome obſtacles aroſe from the very nature of the climate. The river St. Lawrence is frozen up for ſix months in the year.

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At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of the thick fogs, rapid currents, sand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. These difficulties increase from Quebec to Montreal to such a degree, that sailing is quite impracticable, and rowing so difficult, that from the Trois Rivieries, where the tide ends, the oars cannot resist the violence of the current, without the assistance of a very fair wind, and then only during a month or six weeks. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, traders meet with no less than six water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to convey them and their lading a considerable way by land.

Far from encouraging men to surmount the difficulties of nature, a misinformed government planned none but ruinous schemes. To gain the advantage over the English in the fur trade, they erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engrossed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without some uneasiness that the Indians saw the formation of these settlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their suspicions induced them to take up arms, so that the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military

tary education rendered them hardy from their youth, and fearleſs of danger. Before they had arrived to the age of manhood, the would traverſe a vaſt continent in the ſummer time in canoes, and in winter on foot, through ice and ſnow. Having nothing but their gun to procure ſubſiſtence with, they were in continual danger of ſtarving; but they were under no apprehenſion, not even of falling into the hands of the ſavages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, for worſe than death.

The ſedentary arts of peace, and the conſtant labours of agriculture, had no attraction for men accuſtomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which forms no idea of the ſweets or the utility of rural life, increaſed the averſion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by beſtowing all their favours and honours upon military actions alone. The diſtinction that was chiefly laviſhed was that of nobility, which was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleneſs, but alſo inſpired them with an unconquerable paſſion for every thing that was ſplendid. Profits which ought to have been kept ſacred for the improvement of the lands, were laid out in ornament, and a real poverty was concealed under the trappings of deſtructive luxury.

Origin of the wars between the Engliſh and the French in Canada.

Such was the ſtate of the colony in 1747, when La Galiſſoniere was appointed governor. He was a man poſſeſſed of very extenſive knowledge, active

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tive and resolute, and of a courage the more steady, as it was the effect of reason. The English wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the south side of the river St Lawrence. He thought this an unjust claim, and was determined to confined them within the peninsula, which he apprehended to be the boundary settled even by treaties. Their ambition of incroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio, or Fair river, he likewise thought unreasonable. He was of opinion that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the limits of their possessions, and was fully determined they should not pass them. His successor, who was appointed while he was preparing the means of accomplishing this vast design, entered into his views with all the warmth they deserved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all sides, to support the system which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreseeing, or, at least, without sufficiently attending to the consequences.

At this period began those hostilities between the English and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the respective mother countries. This clandestine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without exposing their weakness, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had

had impoſed their own terms. Theſe repeated checks at laſt opened the eyes of Great Britain, and diſcloſed the political deſigns of her rival. George II. thought that a clandeſtine war was inconſiſtent with the ſuperiority of his maritime forces. His ſhips were ordered to attack thoſe of the French in all parts of the world. The Engliſh accordingly took or diſperſed all the French ſhips the met with, and in 1758, ſteered towards Cape-Breton.

Conqueſt of Cape-Breton by the Engliſh.

THIS iſland, the key of Canada, had already been attacked in 1745, and the event is of ſo ſingular a nature, that it deſerves a particular detail. The plan of this firſt invaſion was laid at Boſton, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had excited, encouraged and directed the enthuſiaſm of the colony, was intruſted with the command of an army of 6000 men, which had been levied for this expedition.

THOUGH theſe forces, convoyed by a ſquadron from Jamaica, brought the firſt news to Cape Breton of the danger that threatened it; though the advantage of a ſurpriſe would have ſecured the landing without oppoſition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants haſtily armed, the ſucceſs of the undertaking was ſtill precarious. What great exploits, indeed could be expected from a militia ſuddenly aſſembled, who had never ſeen a ſiege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the direction of ſea-

BOOK XVI. officers only. Theſe unexperienced troops ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of ſome fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a ſingular manner.

THE conſtruction and repairs of the fortifications had always been left to the care of the garriſon of Louiſbourg. The ſoldiers were eager of being employed in theſe works, which they conſidered as conducive to their ſafety, and as the means of procuring them a comfortable ſubſiſtence. When they found that thoſe who were to have paid them, appropriated to themſelves the profit of their labours, they demanded juſtice. It was denied them, and they determined to aſſert their right. As theſe depredations had been ſhared between the chief perſons of the colony and the ſubaltern officers, the ſoldiers could obtain no redreſs. Their indignation againſt theſe rapacious extortioners roſe to ſuch a height that they deſpiſed all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for ſix months, when the Engliſh appeared before the place.

THIS was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cauſe. The ſoldiers made the firſt advances; but their commanders miſtruſted a generoſity of which they themſelves were incapable. Had theſe mean oppreſſors conceived it poſſible that the ſoldiers could have entertained ſuch elevated notions as to ſacrifice their own reſentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this diſpoſition,

disposition, and have fallen upon the enemy while they were forming their camp and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers unacquainted with the principles of the art of war, would have been disconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed that the soldiers were only desirous of sallying out, that they might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill-managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisbourg, its only bulwark.

This valuable possession, restored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 well-disciplined troops, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louisbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpose to land at a great distance, because it would be impossible to bring up the artillery and other necessaries for a considerable siege, it had been attempted to render the landing impracticable near the town. In the prudent precautions that had been taken, the besiegers saw the dangers and difficulties they had to expect; but far from being deterred by them, they had recourse to stratagem, and while by extending their line they

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threatened and commanded the whole coaſt, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

THIS place was naturally weak. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had poſted 2000 excellent ſoldiers and ſome Indians. In front they had made ſuch a cloſe hedge with branches of trees, that would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of palliſade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a diſtance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

THIS would have preſerved the colony, had the aſſailants been ſuffered to complete their landing, and to advance with the confidence, that they had but few obſtacles to ſurmount. Had this been the caſe, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the ſmall arms, they would infallibly have periſhed on the ſhore, or in the hurry of embarking; eſpecially as the ſea was juſt then very rough. This unexpected loſs might have interrupted the whole project.

BUT all the prudent precautions that had been taken, were rendered abortive by the impetuoſity of the French. The Engliſh had ſcarce begun to move towards the ſhore, when their enemies haſtened to diſcover the ſnare they had laid for them. By the briſk and haſty fire that was aimed at their boats, and ſtill more by the premature removal

of

of the boughs that maſked the forces, which it was ſo much the intereſt of the French to conceal, they gueſſed at the danger they were going to ruſh into. They immediately turned back, and ſaw no other place to effect their landing but a rock, which had been always deemed inacceſſible. General Wolf, though much taken up in re-imbarking his troops, and ſending off the boats, gave the ſignal to Major Scot to repair thither. BOOK XVI.

THE officer immediately removed to the ſpot with his men. His own boat coming up firſt, and ſinking at the very inſtant he was ſtepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men who had been ſent thither ſome hours before. He found only ten. With theſe few, however, he gained the ſummit of the rock. Ten Indians and ſixty Frenchman killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In ſpite of his weakneſs, he ſtood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardleſs of the boiſterous waves and the fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full poſſeſſion of that important poſt, the only one that could ſecure their landing.

THE French, as ſoon as they ſaw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themſelves to the only remaining refuge, and ſhut themſelves up in Louiſbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, becauſe the ſea ſand, which they had been obliged to uſe, is by no means fit for

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works of maſonry. The revetements of the ſeveral curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one caſemate and a ſmall magazine that were bomb proof. The garriſon which was to defend the place conſiſted only of 2,900 men.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, the beſieged were determined to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. While they were employed in defending themſelves with ſo much firmneſs, the ſuccours they expected from Canada might poſſibly arrive. At all events this reſiſtance might be the means of preſerving that great colony from all further invaſion for the remainder of the campaign. It is ſcarce credible that the French were confirmed in their reſolution by the courage of a woman. Madame de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purſe in her hand; and firing herſelf three guns every day, ſeemed to diſpute with the governor her huſband the glory of his office. The beſieged were not diſmayed at the ill ſucceſs of their ſeveral ſallies, or the maſterly operations concerted by admiral Boſcawen and general Amherſt. It was but at the eve of an aſſault, which it was impoſſible to ſuſtain, that they talked of ſurrendering. The made an honourable capitulation, and the conqueror ſhewed more reſpect for his enemy and for himſelf, than to ſully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

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The English attack Canada.

THE conqueſt of Cape Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the ſeat of war was removed thither, or rather the ſcenes of bloodſhed which had long been acted over that immenſe country were multiplied. The cauſe of theſe proceedings was this.

THE French, ſettled in thoſe parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the fineſt furs were to be had, and in the greateſt plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhauſted, or yielded leſs than it did at firſt, their trade turned ſouthward, where they diſcovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair river. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louiſiana. For though the ſhips that ſail up the river St. Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges to lake Ontario, which is only parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French upon their firſt ſettling built Fort Niagara. It is on this ſpot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the ſource of the river Ohio is found, which waters the fineſt country in the world, and increaſing by the many rivers that fall into it, diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſippi.

THE French however made no uſe of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourſe that ſubſiſted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much ſhorter and eaſier than the old, firſt began to be frequented by a body of troops that

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that were ſent over to Canada in 1739, to aſſiſt the colony of Louiſiana, then engaged in an open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the ſouthern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period, ſeveral ſmall forts were erected along the Ohio, the courſe of which had been traced for four years paſt. The moſt conſiderable of theſe forts took its name from governor Duqueſne who built it.

The Engliſh colonies could not ſee without concern French ſettlements raiſed behind them, which joined with the old ones, and ſeemed to ſurround them. They were apprehenſive leſt the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, ſhould not prove a ſufficient barrier againſt the attempts of a reſtleſs and warlike neighbour. Urged by this motive, they themſelves paſſed theſe famous mountains, to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Ohio with the rival nation. This firſt ſtep proved unſucceſsful. The ſeveral parties that were ſucceſſively ſent out, were routed; and the forts were demoliſhed as faſt as they built them.

To put an end to theſe national affronts, and revenge the diſgrace they reflected on the mother country, a large body of troops was ſent over, under the command of General Braddock. In the ſummer of 1755, as this general was marching to attack Fort Duqueſne with 36 pieces of cannon and 600 men, he was ſurpriſed, within four leagues

gues of the place, by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army cut to pieces. This unaccountable diſaſter put a ſtop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occaſioned by this accident, made them haſten back to their quarters, and in the next campaign, all their motions were guided by the moſt timorous caution. BOOK XVI.

The French were emboldened by this perplexity, and though very much inferior to them, ventured to appear before Oſwego in Auguſt 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It ſtood nearly in the center of Canada, in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the capital poſts in thoſe parts. It was garriſoned by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of ſtores of all kinds. Though ſo well provided it ſurrendered in a few days, to the impetuous and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying ſiege to it.

In Auguſt 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians maached up to Fort George, ſituated on lake Sacrament, which was juſtly conſidered as the bulwark of Engliſh Settlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces deſtined againſt Canada. Nature and art had conſpired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all acceſs impracticable. Theſe advantages were further ſtrengthened by ſeveral bodies of troops, placed

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placed at proper distances in the best positions. Yet these obstacles were surmounted with such prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in history, had the scene of action lain in a more distinguished spot. The French, after killing or dispersing all the small parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garrison, consisting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

This fresh disaster rouzed the English. Their generals applied themselves during the winter to the training up of their men, and bringing the several troops under a proper discipline. They made them exercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars and 13,000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations, and marched up to Carillon, distant but four leagues.

That fort which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, was not of sufficient size to withstand the forces that were marching against it. Intrenchments were formed hastily under the cannon of the fort, with stems of trees heaped up one upon another, and large trees were laid in front, whose branches being cut and sharpened, answered the purpose of chevaux de frise. The colours were planted on the top of the ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

The English were not dismayed at these formidable apperances, being fully determined to remove

remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages in a country where the prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these palisades with the most extravagant fury. Neither were they disconcerted by the French firing upon them from the top of the parapet, while they were unable to defend themselves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their impetuous rage, which continued upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

They were equally unsuccessful in smaller actions. They did not attack one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The severity of the winter might have been supposed to secure them, but even in this rigorous season the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers, and into the very heart of the English colonies.

All these disasters were owing to a false principle of government. The English minister had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though

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THOUGH experience had ſhewn the fallacy of this idea, the miniſtry did not even endeavour by a proper choice of generals, to rectify the fatal effects it had produced. Almoſt all thoſe who were employed in this ſervice were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

THE armies were not likely to make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring ſpirit and invincible courage, which is the characteriſtic of the Engliſh ſoldiers, ariſing from the climate, and ſtill more from the nature of their government; but theſe national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguiſhed by the hardſhips they underwent, in a country deſtitute of all the conveniencies that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was compoſed of peaceable huſbandmen, who were not, like moſt of the French coloniſts, inured to ſlaughter by a habit of hunting, and by military ardor.

TO theſe diſadvantages, ariſing from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to miſconduct. The poſts erected for the ſafety of the ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements, were not ſo contrived as to ſupport and aſſiſt each other. The provinces having all ſeparate intereſts, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in thoſe joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of ſentiments, which alone can inſure the ſucceſs of their meaſures. The ſeaſon of action was waſted in vain altercations

tions between the governors and the coloniſts. Every plan of operation that met with oppoſition from any ſet of men was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, is was certainly made public before the execution, and by that means rendered abortive. To this may be added, the irreconcileable hatred ſubſiſting between them and the Indians. BOOK XVI.

THESE nations had always ſhewn a viſible partiality for the French, in return for the kindneſs they had ſhewn them in ſending them miſſionaries, whom they conſidered rather as ambaſſadors from the prince, than as ſent from God. Theſe miſſionaries, by ſtudying the language of the ſavages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an abſolute dominion over their minds. The French coloniſts, far from communicating the European manners, had adopted thoſe of the ſavages they lived with: their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their conſtant fondneſs for a wandering life. Several officers of diſtinction had even been incorporated with them. The hatred and jealouſy of the Engliſh has traduced them on this account, and they have not ſcrupled to aſſert that theſe generous men had given money for the ſkulls of their enemies, that they joined in the horrid dances that accompany the execution of their priſoners, imitated their cruelties, and partook of their barbarous feſtivals. But theſe enormities would be better adapted to people who have ſubſtituted national

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nal to religious fanaticiſm, and are more inclined to hate other nations than to love their own government.

THE ſtrong attachment of the Indians to the French was productive of the moſt inveterate hatred againſt the Engliſh. Of all the European ſavages, theſe were in their opinion, the hardeſt to tame. Their averſion ſoon roſe to madneſs; and they even thirſted for Engliſh blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their deſtruction, and that they were to be expelled their native land by foreign aſſaſſins. The ſame hands which had enriched the Engliſh colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet do deſtroy it. The Indians purſued the Engliſh with as much eagerneſs as they did the wild beaſts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was ſlaughter. They deſtroyed armies which the French only wiſhed to ſubdue. Their fury roſe to ſuch a height, that an Engliſh priſoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A miſſionary Jeſuit reproaching her with the atrociouſneſs of the action, her anſwer was; *my children muſt be warriours, and therefore muſt be fed with the blood of their enemies.*

Taking of Quebec by the Engliſh.

SUCH was the ſtate of things, when an Engliſh fleet entered the river St. Lawrence in June 1759. It had no ſooner anchored at the iſle of Orleans, than eight fire ſhips were ſent off to deſtroy it.

Had

Had they executed their orders, not a ſhip or a man would have eſcaped; but the captains who conducted the affair were ſeized with a panic. They ſet fire to their veſſels too ſoon, and hurried back to land in their boats. The aſſailants had ſeen their danger at a diſtance, but were delivered from it by this accident, and from that moment the conqueſt of Canada became almoſt certain. BOOK XVI.

THE Britiſh flag ſoon appeared before Quebec. The deſign was to land there, and to get a firm footing in the neighbourhood of the town, in order to lay ſiege to it. But they found the banks of the river ſo well intrenched, and ſo well defended by troops and redoubts, that their firſt endeavours were fruitleſs. Every attempt to land was attended with the loſs of many lives, without being productive of any advantage. They had perſiſted for ſix weeks in theſe unſucceſsful endeavours, when at laſt they had the ſingular good fortune to land unperceived on the 12th of September, an hour before break of day, three miles above the town. Their army, conſiſting of 6000 men, was already drawn up in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a corps that was weaker by one third. For ſome time ardour ſupplied the want of numbers. At laſt, French vivacity gave up the victory to the enemy, who had loſt the intrepid Wolf their general, but did not loſe their confidence and reſolution.

THIS was gaining a conſiderable advantage, but it might not have been deciſive. The troops

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that were poſted within a few leagues of the field of battle, might have been collected in twelve hours, to join the vanquiſhed army, and march up to the conqueror with a ſuperior force. This was the opinion of the French general Montcalm, who being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough before he expired, to conſult the ſafety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their diſaſter. This generous motion was over-ruled by the council of war. They removed ten leagues off. The Chevalier de Levy, who had haſtened from his poſt to replace Montcalm, cenſured this want of courage. The French were aſhamed of it, wiſhed to recall it, and make another attempt for victory, but it was too late. Quebec, three parts deſtroyed by the firing from the ſhips, had capitulated on the 17th.

ALL Europe thought the taking of this place had put an end to the great conteſt in North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who ſeemed to be in a deſperate condition would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what theſe people were capable of doing. They haſtily completed ſome intrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert meaſures to retrieve their diſgrace.

IT was there agreed that in the ſpring they ſhould march with an armed force againſt Quebec,

bec, to retake it by ſurpriſe, or if that ſhould fail, to beſiege it in form. They had nothing in readineſs for that purpoſe, but the plan was ſo concerted, that they ſhould enter upon the undertaking juſt at the inſtant when the ſuccours expected from France muſt neceſſarlly arrive. BOOK XVI.

THOUGH the colony had long been in want of every thing, the preparations were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a ſmall canal. They dragged ſome boats over the ice, and put them into the water. The army, conſiſting of citizens and ſoldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one ſoul, fell down this ſtream, with inconceivable ardour, on the 12th of April 1760. The Engliſh thought they ſtill lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, came up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, poſted three leagues from Quebec. This party was juſt upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of thoſe unaccountable incidents, which no human prudence can foreſee.

A gunner, attempting to ſtep out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and was carried down the ſtream. As he paſſed by Quebec, cloſe to the ſhore, he was ſeen by a centinel, who obſerving a man in diſtreſs, called out for help. The Engliſh flew to his aſſiſtance, and found him motionleſs. They knew him by his uniform to be a

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French ſoldier, and carried him to the governor's houſe, where by the help of ſpirituous liquors, they recalled him to life for a moment. He juſt recovered his ſpeech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately diſpatched orders to the advanced guard to retire within the walls with all expedition. Notwithſtanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

THE aſſailants however marched on with an intrepidity which indicated that they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a ſurpriſe. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men, who were ſent out to intercept them. The onſet was ſharp, and the reſiſtance obſtinate. The Engliſh were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their braveſt men upon the ſpot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

THE trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as the French had none but field-pieces, as no ſuccours came from France, and as a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from poſt to poſt till they arrived at Montreal. Theſe troops, which were not very numerous at firſt, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent ſkirmiſhes and continual fatigues, were in want both of proviſions and warlike ſtores, and found

found themſelves incloſed in an open place; being ſurrounded by three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, while the third had paſſed over lake Champlain. Theſe miſerable remains of a body of 7000 men, who had never been recruited, and had ſo much ſignalized themſelves with the help of a few Militia and Indians, were at laſt forced to capitulate for the whole colony. The conqueſt was confirmed by the treaty of peace, when this country was added to the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in North-America.

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Canada is ceded to the Engliſh.

What advantages they might derive from that poſſeſſion.

The acquiſition of an immenſe territory is not, however, the only advantage that Great Britain could derive from the ſucceſs of her arms. The conſiderable population ſhe has found there is of ſtill greater importance. Some of theſe numerous inhabitants, it is true, have fled from a new dominion, which admitted no other difference among men but ſuch as aroſe from perſonal qualities, education, fortune, or the advantage of being uſeful to ſociety. But the emigration of theſe contemptible perſons, whoſe importance was founded on nothing but barbarous cuſtom, cannot ſurely be conſidered as a misfortune. Has not the colony been much benefitted by getting rid of that nobility whoſe indolence had incumbered it ſo long, and whoſe pride encouraged a contempt for all kinds of labour? The only things neceſſary to make the colony proſper, are, that its lands ſhould be cleared, its foreſts cut down, its iron mines

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worked, its fiſheries extended, its induſtry and exportations improved.

THE province of Canada has been convinced of this truth. And, indeed, notwithſtanding the ties of blood, language, religion and government, which are uſually ſo ſtrong; notwithſtanding that variety of connections and prejudices which have ſo powerful an aſcendant over the minds of men; the Canadians have not ſhewn much concern at their violent ſeparation from their ancient country. They have readily concurred in the meaſures employed by the Engliſh miniſtry to eſtabliſh their happineſs and liberty upon a ſolid foundation.

THE laws of the Engliſh admiralty were ſoon introduced. But this innovation was ſcarce perceived by them; becauſe it ſcarcely concerned any except the conquerors, who were in poſſeſſion of all the maritime trade of the colony.

THEY have paid more attention to the eſtabliſhment of the criminal laws of England, which was one of the moſt happy circumſtances Canada could experience. Deliberate, rational, public trials took place of the impenetrable myſterious tranſactions of a cruel inquiſition; and a late dreadful and ſanguinary tribunal was filled with humane judges, more diſpoſed to acknowledge innocence than to ſuppoſe criminality.

THE conquered people have been ſtill more delighted to find the liberty of their perſons ſecured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the

the arbitrary wills of their governors, they have bleſſed the beneficent hand that raiſed them from a ſtate of ſlavery, to place them under the protection of the laws.

THE attention of the Britiſh miniſtry was afterwards taken up in ſupplying Canada with a code of civil laws. This important work, though intruſted to able, induſtrious and upright lawyers, hath not yet obtained the ſanction of government. If the ſucceſs anſwers expectation, a colony will at laſt be found with a legiſlative ſyſtem adapted to its climate, its population, and its labours.

INDEPENDENT of theſe parental views, Great Britain has thought it her political intereſt, by ſecret meaſures, to create in her new ſubjects, a fondneſs for the cuſtoms, the language, and the opinions of the mother country. This kind of ſimilitude is, in fact, generally ſpeaking, one of the ſtrongeſt bands that can attach the colonies. But in our opinion the preſent ſituation of things ought to have occaſioned a preference to another ſyſtem. England has at this time ſo much reaſon to be apprehenſive of the ſpirit of independence, which prevails in North-America, that, perhaps, it would have been more to her advantage to have kept up a diſtinction between Canada and her other provinces, rather than to have given them that kind of affinity and reſemblance which may one day unite them too cloſely.

HOWEVER this may be, the Britiſh miniſtry have given the Engliſh government to Canada, ſo

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far as it was conſiſtent with an authority entirely regal, and without any mixture of a popular adminiſtration. Their new ſubjects, ſecure from the fear of future wars, eaſed of the trouble of defending diſtant poſts which removed them far from their habitations, and deprived of the fur trade which has returned into its natural channel, have only to attend to their plantations. As theſe advance, their intercourſe with Europe and with the Caribbee iſlands will increaſe, and ſoon become very conſiderable. They will for the future be the only reſource of a vaſt country, into which France formerly poured immenſe ſums, conſidering it as the chief bulwark of her ſouthern iſlands. The truth of this political opinion, which has been overlooked by ſo many negociators, will appear evident, as we proceed to explain the advantages of the Engliſh ſettlements on the continent of North-America.

END OF THE SIXTEENTH BOOK.

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English colonies settled at Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey.

ENGLAND was only known in America by her piracies, which were often successful and always bold, when Sir Walter Ralegh conceived a project to procure his nation a share of the prodigious riches which, for near a century past, had flowed from that hemisphere into ours. This great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North-America. The talent he had of bringing men over to his opinion, by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and among the merchants. The company that was formed in consequence of his magnificent promises, obtained of government in 1584 the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made; and without any further encouragement,

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First expeditions of the English in North-America.

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ragement, they fitted out two ſhips in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the truſt repoſed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to ſettle their nation, and left the ſavages as liberty to make their own terms in the trade they propoſed to open with them.

THE reports made by theſe ſucceſsful navigators on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the ſoil, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, encouraged the ſociety to proceed. They accordingly ſent ſeven ſhips the following ſpring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpoſe of commencing a ſettlement. Part of them were murdered by the ſavages whom they had inſulted, and the reſt, having been ſo improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were periſhing with miſery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their aſſiſtance.

THIS was Sir Francis Drake, ſo famous among ſeamen for being the next after Magellan who ſailed round the globe. The abilities he had ſhewn in that great expedition, induced queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his extenſive dominions where he uſed to diſturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The Engliſh fleet ſeized upon St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, and ſeveral other important

important places, and took a great many rich ſhips. His inſtructions were, after theſe operations, to proceed and offer his aſſiſtance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few, who ſurvived the numberleſs calamities that had befallen them, were in ſuch deſpair, that they refuſed all aſſiſtance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their requeſt; and thus the expences that had been hitherto beſtowed on the ſettlement were entirely thrown away.

The aſſociates were not diſcouraged by this unforeſeen event. From time to time they ſent over a few coloniſts, who in the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifteen perſons of both ſexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce. Theſe beginnings raiſed ſome expectations, but they were fruſtated by the diſgrace of Ralegh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having loſt its founder, was totally forgotten.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Goſnold, one of the firſt aſſociates, reſolved to viſit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him ſuſpect that the right track had not been found out, and that in ſteering by the Canary and Caribbee iſlands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thouſand leagues. Theſe conjectures induced him

to

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to ſteer away from the ſouth, and to turn more weſtward. The attempt ſucceeded; but when he reached the American coaſt, he found himſelf further north than any navigators who had gone before. The country where he landed, which now makes a part of New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he ſailed back to England.

THE rapidity and ſucceſs of this undertaking made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Engliſh merchants. Several of them joined in 1606 to form a ſettlement in the country that Goſnold had diſcovered. Their example revived in others the memory of Roanoak; and this gave riſe to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to carry on their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia company.

THE zeal that had been ſhewn at firſt ſoon abated, and there appeared to be more jealouſy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the firſt lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progreſs was ſo ſlow, that in 1614, there were not above four hundred perſons in both ſettlements. That ſort of competency which was anſwerable to the ſimplicity of the manners of the times, was then ſo general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad in queſt of a fortune. It is a ſenſe of misfortune, that gives men a diſlike to their native country, ſtill more than the

the desire of acquiring riches. Nothing less than some extraordinary commotion could then have sent inhabitants even into an excellent country. This emigration was at length occasioned by superstition, which had given rise to the commotions from the collisions of religious opinions.

The continent of America is peopled in consequence of the religious wars that disturb England.

THE first priests of the Britons were the Druids, so famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a mysterious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship, their rites were never performed but in dark recesses, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates spectres and apparations. Only a few persons were initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important subject; lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the prophane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were stained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of these treasures, yet they were always held sacred, because the Druids had artfully repressed a thrist after riches by inculcating the fundamental doctrine of the endless transmigration of the soul. The chief authority of government was vested in the ministers of that terrible religion; because men are more powerfully and more constantly swayed by opinion than by any other motive. They were intrusted with the education of youth, and they maintained through life

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life the aſcendency they acquired in that early age. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal cauſes, and were as abſolute in their deciſions on ſtate affairs as on the private differences between individuals. Whoever dared to reſiſt their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine myſteries, but even from the ſociety of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any intercourſe with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miſeries. The hiſtory of human ſuperſtitions affords no inſtance of any one ſo tyrannical as that of the Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to uſe ſeverity; with ſo much violence did the Druids oppoſe the power of thoſe conquerors.

THAT religion, however, had loſt much of its influence, when it was totally aboliſhed by chriſtianity in the ſeventh century. The northern nations, that had ſucceſſively invaded the ſouthern provinces of Europe, had found there the ſeeds of that new religion, amidſt the ruins of an empire that was ſhaken on all ſides. Their indifference for their diſtant gods, or that credulity which is ever the companion of ignorance, induced them readily to embrace a form of worſhip which from the multiplicity of its ceremonies, could not but attract the notice of rude and ſavage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty

ficulty a religion that juſtified their conqueſts, expiated the criminality of them, and inſured their permanency by aboliſhing the ancient forms of worſhip.

The effects were ſuch as might be expected from a religion, the original ſimplicity of which was at that time ſo much disfigured. Idle contemplations were ſoon ſubſtituted in lieu of active and ſocial virtues; and a ſtupid veneration for unknown ſaints, took place of the worſhip of the ſupreme being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural cauſes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the moſt heinous crimes. Every ſentiment of reaſon was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

Thoſe who had been the promoters of this confuſion, knew how to avail themſelves of it. The prieſts obtained that reſpect which was denied to kings; and their perſons became ſacred. The magiſtrate had no power of inſpecting into their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulneſs of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded and even ſuperſeded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every queſtion of law, and into all ſtate affairs, and made themſelves umpires or judges in every cauſe. When faith ſpoke, every one liſtened in ſilent attention to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of thoſe dark ages, that the ſcandalous exceſſes of the clergy did not diminiſh their authority.

This

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This authority was maintained by the immenſe riches the clergy had already acquired. As ſoon as they had taught, that religion was preſerved principally by ſacrifices, and required firſt of all that of fortune and earthly poſſeſſions, the nobility, who were ſole proprietors of all eſtates, employed their ſlaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of thoſe foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and ſtripped themſelves to ſuch a degree, as even not to leave a ſufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. Theſe deficiencies were never made up by thoſe who were the cauſe of them. They were not concerned in any of the public expences. The payment of taxes with the revenues of the church would have been a ſacrilege, and a proſtitution of holy things to profane purpoſes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The poſſeſſion of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the large fees required for all prieſtly offices, did not ſatisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own intereſt. They found in the old teſtament that by divine appointment they had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was ſo readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of induſtry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers,

labourers, of the pay of ſoldiers, and ſometimes of the ſalaries of placemen. BOOK XVII.

ROME, which at firſt was a ſilent ſpectator of theſe proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the ſucceſs that attended the rich and haughty miniſters of a Saviour born in obſcurity, and condemned to an ignominious death, ſoon coveted a ſhare in the ſpoils of England. The firſt ſtep ſhe took was to open a trade for relics, which were always uſhered in with ſome ſtriking miracle, and ſold in proportion to the credulity of the purchaſers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchaſe a place in heaven ſuitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees aſſumed the preſentation to church preferments, which at firſt they gave away, but afterwards ſold. By theſe means their tribunal took cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themſelves levied the tenth of all the ſubſtance of the realm.

WHEN theſe pious extortions were carried as far as they poſſibly could be in England, Rome aſpired to the ſupreme authority over it. Her ambitious deceit was covered with a ſacred veil. She ſapped the foundations of liberty, by employing the influence of opinion only. This was ſetting men at variance with themſelves, and availing herſelf of their prejudices, in order to acquire an abſolute dominion over them. She uſurped the power of a deſpotic arbitrator between the

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altar and the throne, between the prince and his ſubjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her ſpiritual thunders. But ſhe wanted emiſſaries to ſpread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpoſe. The ſecular clergy, notwithſtanding their celibacy, which kept them from forming connections in the world, were ſtill attached to it by the ties of intereſt, often ſtronger than thoſe of blood. A ſet of men, ſecluded from ſociety by ſingular inſtitutions, which muſt incline them to fanaticiſm, and by a blind ſubmiſſion to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were beſt adapted to ſecond the views of ſuch a ſovereign. Theſe vile and abject tools of ſuperſtition executed their fatal employment ſucceſsfully. By their intrigues, aſſiſted with the concurrence of favourable circumſtances, England, which had ſo long withſtood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the paſſions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the ſcandalous dependence. The abuſe of ſo infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. This prince ventured at once to ſhake off the authority of the pope, aboliſh monaſteries, and aſſume the ſupremacy over his own church.

This open ſchiſm was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, ſon and ſucceſſor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly diſcuſſed.

Some-

Something was taken from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old form of worſhip were retained; and from theſe ſeveral ſyſtems or tenets, aroſe a new communion, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the church of England. BOOK XVII.

ELIZABETH, who completed this important work, found theory alone too ſubtle, and thought it moſt expedient to captivate the ſenſes, by the addition of ſome ceremonies. Her natural taſte for grandeur, and the deſire of putting a ſtop to the diſputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worſhip, inclined her to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But ſhe was reſtrained by political conſiderations, and was obliged to ſacrifice ſomething to the prejudices of a party that had raiſed her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

FAR from ſuſpecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to reſtrain eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies: that prince, having been trained up in the principles of the preſbyterians, a ſect, which with much ſpiritual pride, affected great ſimplicity of dreſs, gravity of manners, and auſterity of doctrine, which loved to ſpeak in ſcripture phraſes, and gave none but ſcripture names to their children. One would have ſuppoſed that ſuch an education muſt have prejudiced the king againſt the outward pomp of the catholic worſhip, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But

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the ſpirit of ſyſtem prevailed over the principles of education. Struck with the epiſcopal juriſdiction which he found eſtabliſhed in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction the early impreſſions he had received, and grew paſſionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political œconomy of a well conſtituted empire. Inſtigated by his enthuſiaſm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful ſyſtem into Scotland, his native country, and to engage a great many of the Engliſh, who ſtill diſſented to embrace it. He even intended to add the pomp of the moſt awful ceremonies to the majeſtic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the oppoſition he met with at firſt ſetting out, would not permit him to advance any further in his ſyſtem of reformation. He contented himſelf with recommending to his ſon to reſume his views, whenever the times ſhould furniſh a favourable opportunity; and repreſented the preſbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

CHARLES readily followed his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of deſpotiſm he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the moſt corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted ſeveral biſhops to the higheſt dignities in the government, and conferred on them moſt of the offices

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that imparted a great ſhare of influence in all public meaſures. Theſe ambitious prelates, now become the maſters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the inſtigations of others, betrayed that ſpirit ſo frequent among the clergy, of exalting eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction under the ſhadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apoſtolical inſtitution, and to enforce their obſervance, had recourſe to acts of arbitrary power exerciſed by the king. It was evident that there was a ſettled deſign of reſtoring, in all its ſplendour, what the proteſtants called Romiſh idolatry, though the moſt violent means ſhould be neceſſary to compaſs it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was ſupported by the prejudices and intrigues of a preſumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immoderate paſſion for popery and arbitrary power.

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It can ſcarce be imagined what acrimony theſe alarming ſuſpicions had raiſed in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to ſubſide. But the ſpirit of fanaticiſm endeavoured even in theſe troubleſome times to reſtore every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the diſſenters, ſince ſo many cuſtoms had been introduced into it which they conſidered as ſuperſtitious. An order was iſſued, that both kingdoms ſhould conform to the worſhip and diſ-

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cipline of the epiſcopal church. This law included the preſbyterians, who then began to be called puritans, becauſe they profeſſed to take the pure and ſimple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewiſe to all the foreign Calviniſts that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worſhip was enjoined to the regiments, and trading companies diſperſed in the ſeveral countries of Europe. The Engliſh ambaſſadors were alſo required to ſeparate from all communion with the foreign proteſtants, ſo that England loſt all the influence ſhe had abroad, as the head and ſupport of the reformation.

In this fatal criſis, moſt of the puritans were divided between ſubmiſſion and oppoſition. Thoſe who would neither ſtoop to yield, nor take the pains to reſiſt, turned their views towards North-America, in ſearch of that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. Their enemies, in order to have an opportunity of perſecuting them more at leiſure, attempted to preclude theſe devout fugitives from this aſylum, where they wanted to worſhip God in their own way in a deſert land. Eight ſhips that lay at anchor in the Thames ready to ſail, were ſtopped; and Cromwell is ſaid to have been detained there by that very king, whom he afterwards brought to the ſcaffold. Enthuſiaſm, however, ſtronger than the rage of perſecution, ſurmounted every obſtacle; and that part of America was ſoon filled

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with presbyterians. The satisfaction they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all those of their party to follow them, who were not so evil-minded as to delight in the view of those dreadful scenes, which soon after made England a scene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view of advancing their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increase their population. Thousands of unhappy men, oppressed by the tyranny or intolerant spirit of their sovereigns, took refuge in that hemisphere; concerning which we shall now pursue our inquiries, and endeavour before we quit the subject to throw some light upon it.

Parallel between the old and the new world.

It is surprising that so little should have been known of the new world, for so long a time after it was discovered. Barbarous soldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper persons to give us just and clear notions of this hemisphere. It was the province of philosophy alone to avail itself of the informations scattered in the accounts of voyagers and missionaries, in order to see America such as nature hath made it; and to find out its analogy to the rest of the globe.

It is now pretty certain that the new continent has not half the extent of surface that the old has. At the same time, the form of both is so singularly alike, that we might easily be inclined to draw consequences from this particular, if it were not always necessary to be upon our guard against

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the ſpirit of ſyſtem which often ſtops us in our reſearches after truth, and hinders us from attaining it.

THE two continents ſeem to form as it were two broad tracts of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, divided on the eaſt and weſt by the ocean that ſurrounds them. Whatever may be the ſtructure of theſe two continents, and the equality or ſymmetry of their form; it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their poſition. It is the inconſtancy of the ſea that conſtitutes the ſolid form of the earth. To fix the globe upon its baſis, it ſeemed neceſſary to have an element which, floating inceſſantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other ſubſtances, and by its fluidity reſtore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have diſturbed. Water by its natural fluctuation and weight, is the moſt proper element to preſerve the connection and balance of the ſeveral parts of the globe round its center. If our hemiſphere has a very wide extent of continent to the north, a maſs of water of equal weight at the oppoſite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the ſame latitude America will have a ſea filled with fiſh. While foreſts full of trees, bending with the largeſt fruits, quadrupeds of the greateſt ſize, the moſt populous nations, elephants and men are a load upon the ſurface

ſurface of the earth, and ſeem to abſorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found whales with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, clouds of inſects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the ſeas, as it were to ſupport the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either ſide: if, indeed, elephants, whales, or men can be ſaid to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a tranſient modification of the earth that compoſes it. In a word the ocean rolls over this globe to faſhion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers a hemiſphere, a pole or a zone, which at other times it leaves bare; but in general it ſeems to affect the equator, more eſpecially as the cold of the poles in ſome meaſure counteracts that fluidity which is eſſential to it, and from which it receives all its power of motion. It is chiefly between the tropics that the ſea extends itſelf and is agitated, and that it undergoes the greateſt change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in thoſe violent agitations occaſionally excited in it by tempeſtuous winds. The attraction of the ſun, and the fermentations occaſioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, muſt have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence, and the ſea, to conform itſelf to this double impulſe, muſt, it ſhould ſeem, flow towards the equator. Nothing but the flatneſs of the

globe

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globe at the poles can poſſibly account for that immenſe extent of water, that has hitherto concealed from us the lands near the ſouth pole. The ſea cannot eaſily paſs the boundaries of the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the center of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the ſea therefore that maintains an equilibrium with the land, and diſpoſes the arrangement of the materials that compoſe it. One proof that the two analogous portions of land which the two continents of the globe preſent at firſt view are not eſſentially neceſſary to its conformation, is, that the new hemiſphere has remained covered with the waters of the ſea, a much longer time than the old. Beſides, if there is an evident ſimilarity between the two hemiſpheres, there are alſo differences between them, which will perhaps deſtroy that harmony we think we obſerve.

When we conſider the map of the world, and ſee the local correſpondence between the iſthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the Eaſt-Indies and that of the Caribbee iſlands, and between the mountains of Chili and thoſe of Monomotapa; we are ſtruck with the ſimilarity of the ſeveral forms this picture preſents. Land ſeems on all ſides to be oppoſed to land, water to water, iſlands and peninſulas ſcattered by the hand of nature to ſerve as a counterpoiſe, and the ſea by its fluctuation conſtantly maintain-

maintaining the balance of the whole. But if on the other hand we compare the great extent of the Pacific ocean, which ſeparates the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, with the ſmall ſpace the Ocean occupies between the coaſt of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vaſt quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from Eaſt to Weſt, with that of the Cordeleras which run from North to South; the mind is in ſuſpenſe, and we have the mortification to ſee the order and ſymmetry vaniſh with which we had embelliſhed our ſyſtem of the earth. The obſerver is ſtill more diſpleaſed with his conjectures, when he conſiders the immenſe height of the mountains of Peru. He is then aſtoniſhed to ſee a continent ſo recent, and yet ſo elevated, the ſea ſo much below the tops of theſe mountains, and yet ſo recently come down from the lands that ſeemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by thoſe tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemiſphere have been covered with the ſea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

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The rivers which in America are wider and of greater extent; the immenſe foreſts to the South; the ſpacious lakes and vaſt moraſſes to the North; the almoſt eternal ſnows between the tropics; few of thoſe pure ſands that ſeem to be the remains of an exhauſted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air

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BOOK XVII. in the ſame latitude as the ſultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and ſevere climate under the ſame parallel as our temperate climates; and laſtly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees, in the temperature of the old and new hemiſpheres; theſe are ſo many tokens of a world that is ſtill in its infancy.

WHY ſhould the continent of America be much warmer and much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moiſture the ocean has left behind, in quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the ſea can poſſibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Aſia. If the waters that ſtill moiſten the bowels of the earth in the new hemiſphere had not covered its ſurface, the woods would very eaſily have been cut down, the fens drained, a ſoft and watery ſoil would have been made firm, by ſtirring up, and expoſing to the rays of the ſun, a free paſſage would have been open to the winds, and dikes raiſed along the rivers: in ſhort, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemiſphere denotes a recent world; when the ſea, about its coaſts, ſtill flows obſcurely in its channels. A leſs ſcorching ſun, more plentiful rains, and thicker vapours more diſpoſed to ſtagnate, are evident marks of the decay or the infancy of nature.

THE difference of climate, ariſing from the waters having lain ſo long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals.

animals. From this diverſity of cauſes, muſt neceſſarily ariſe a very great diverſity of effects. Accordingly we ſee more ſpecies of animals by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new; animals of the ſame kind conſiderably larger; monſters that are become more ſavage and fierce, as the countries have become more inhabited. On the other hand, nature ſeems to have ſtrangely neglected the new world. The men have leſs ſtrength and leſs courage; no beard and no hair; they have leſs appearances of manhood; and are but little ſuſceptible of the lively and powerful ſentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the firſt inſtinct, the firſt band of ſociety, without which all other artificial ties have neither energy nor duration. The women who are ſtill more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and conſider them merely as ſubſervient to their will: they rather ſacrifice them to their indolence, than conſecrate them to their pleaſures. This indolence is the great delight and ſupreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims from the continual labours impoſed upon them. It muſt, however, be confeſſed that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have ſentenced the women to work, have been ſo equitable as to take upon themſelves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fiſhing. But their indifference for the ſex, which nature has intruſted with the care of multiplying

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the ſpecies, implies an imperfection in their organs, a ſort of ſtate of childhood in the people of America, ſimilar to that of the people in our continent who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This ſeems to be a natural defect prevailing in the continent of America, which is an indication of its being a new country.

But if the Americans are a new people, are they a race of men originally diſtinct from thoſe who cover the face of the old world? This is a queſtion which ought not to be too haſtily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we aſſert that the Greenlanders firſt came from Norway, and then went over to the coaſt of Labrador; others will tell us it is more natural to ſuppoſe that the Greenlanders are ſprung from the Eſquimaux, to whom they bear a greater reſemblance than to the Europeans. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that California was peopled from Kamtſchatka, it may be aſked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-weſt of America. Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtſchatka that the inhabitants of the old world muſt have gone over to the new, as it is by thoſe two countries that the two continents are connected, or at leaſt approach neareſt to one another. Beſides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed ſpread from north to ſouth, but it muſt naturally have begun

begun under the equator, where life is cherished by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we must have recourse to the flood, which is the source and the solution of all difficulties in the history of nations.

Let us suppose that the sea having overflowed the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeleras, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon those heights, covered with snow, and surrounded with waters? How is it possible that men who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have survived the miseries of want, the inclemency of atainted atmosphere, and those numberless calamities, which must be the unavoidable consequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preserved and propagated in those times of general calamity, and in the miserable ages that must have succeeded? Notwithstanding all these objections, we must allow that America has been peopled from these wretched remains of the great devastation. Every thing carries the vestiges of a malady, of which the human race still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a species of men degraded and degenerated in their natural constitution, in their stature, in their way of life, and in their understanding, which is but little advanced in all the arts of civilization. A dam-

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per air, and a more marſhy ground, muſt neceſſarily have infected the firſt principles of the ſubſiſtence and increaſe of mankind. It muſt have required ſome ages to reſtore population, and ſtill a greater number before the ground could be ſettled and dried, ſo as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The air muſt neceſſarily be purified before the ſky could clear, and the ſky muſt neceſſarily be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not ſo much a proof of its recent origin, as of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the ſame time as the other hemiſphere, but may have been overflown later. The large foſſil bones that are found under ground in America, ſhew that it had formerly elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have ſince diſappeared in thoſe regions. The gold and ſilver mines that are found juſt below the ſurface, are ſigns of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than thoſe that have overturned our hemiſphere.

SUPPOSE America had, by ſome means or other been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would have been ſo remote, that it would ſtill give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemiſphere. Three or four centuries will not then be ſufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace in theſe countries of our arts, or of the opinions and cuſtoms that prevail in other parts of the globe,

globe, yet we have found a police and a ſociety BOOK
eſtabliſhed inventions and practices which, though XVII.
they did not ſhew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long ſeries of ages ſubſequent to this cataſtrophe. For, though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country ſurrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obſtacles, muſt have forced the men incloſed in it to unite after a time, though they might at firſt deſtroy each other in continual and bloody wars; yet it was only in proceſs of time that they could invent and eſtabliſh a worſhip and legiſlation, which they could not, poſſibly, have borrowed from remote times or countries. It required a great number of ages to render familiar the ſingle art of ſpeech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, to a whole nation unconnected with any other, and which muſt itſelf have created both thoſe arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in them. Ages bear not the ſame proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The whole race is to occupy a vaſt field, both as to ſpace and duration, while the individuals have only ſome moments or inſtants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeneſs and uniformity obſervable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly ſhew that they are not ſo ancient as thoſe of our continent which differ ſo much from each other; but at the ſame time this circumſtance ſeems to confirm that they did not proceed from any foreign hemiſphere, with which

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they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate deſcent.

Compariſon between civilized people and ſavages.

WHATEVER may be the caſe with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, it is perhaps a more intereſting object of inquiry, whether thoſe untutored nations are more or leſs happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal inſtinct, who paſſes every day of his life in hunting, feeding, producing his ſpecies, and repoſing himſelf, is better or worſe than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, ſpins and weaves the thread of the ſilk-worm to clothe himſelf, has exchanged the cave his original abode, for a palace, and has varied his indulgences and his wants in a thouſand different ways.

IT is in the nature of man that we muſt look for his means of happineſs. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Preſent ſubſiſtence; and, if he thinks of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that bleſſing. The ſavage, who has not been driven into and confined within the frigid zones by civilized ſocieties, is not in want of this firſt of neceſſaries. If he lays in no ſtores, it is becauſe the earth and the ſea are reſervoirs always open to ſupply his wants. Fiſh and game are to be had all the year, and will ſupply the want of fertility in the dead ſeaſons. The ſavage has no houſe, well ſecured from the acceſs of the external air, or commodious fire-places; but his furs

furs anſwer all the purpoſes of the roof, the garment and the ſtove. He works but for his own benefit, ſleeps when he is weary, and is a ſtranger to watchings and reſtleſs nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profeſſion annexed to his birth, a national duty, not a domeſtic ſervitude. The ſavage is ſerious but not melancholy; and his countenance ſeldom bears the impreſſion of thoſe paſſions and diſorders that leave ſuch ſhocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not deſire, nor can he deſire what he is ignorant of. Moſt of the conveniencies of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleaſure is the mode of ſatisfying appetites which his ſenſes are unacquainted with. He ſeldom experiences any of that wearineſs that ariſes from unſatisfied deſires, or that emptineſs and uneaſineſs of mind that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the ſavage is ſubject to none but natural evils.

But what greater happineſs than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholeſome and delicate than that of the ſavage. He has ſofter clothes, and a habitation better ſecured againſt the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the ſupport and baſis of civil ſociety, thoſe numbers of men who in all ſtates bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be ſaid to live happy, either in thoſe empires where the conſequences of war and the imperfec-

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tion of the police has reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery, or in thoſe governments where the progreſs of luxury and policy has reduced them to a ſtate of ſervitude. The mixt governments ſeem to preſent ſome proſpects of happineſs under the protection of liberty; but this happineſs is purchaſed by the moſt ſanguinary exertions, which repel tyranny for a time only that it may fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, ſooner or later doomed to oppreſſion. Obſerve how Caligula and Nero revenged the expulſions of the Tarquins, and the death of Cæſar.

TYRANNY, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if ſo, why do they ſuffer it? Why do they not repel the encroachments of deſpotiſm; and while it employs violence and artifice to enſlave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppoſe it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of the oppreſſor? Will it not exaſperate and provoke him to purſue the victim to death? The complaints of ſlaves he calls rebellion, and they are to be ſtifled in a dungeon, and ſometimes put an end to on a ſcaffold. The man who ſhould aſſert the rights of man would periſh in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, muſt be endured, under the name of authority.

IF ſo to what outrages is not the civilized man expoſed! If he is poſſeſſed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when

when he muſt divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his eſtate, the lawyer who muſt be paid for teaching him how to preſerve it, the ſoldier who may lay it waſte, and the collector who comes to levy unlimitted taxes. If he has no property, how can he be aſſured of a permanent ſubſiſtence? What ſpecies of induſtry is ſecured againſt the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government?

In the foreſts of America, if there is a ſcarcity in the north, the ſavages bend their courſe to the ſouth. The wind or the ſun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. But if in our civilized ſtates, confined within gates, and reſtrained within certain limits, famine, war, or peſtilence ſhould conſume an empire, it is a priſon where all muſt expect to periſh in miſery, or in the horrors of ſlaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there is compelled to endure all extortions, all the ſeverities, that the inclemeny of the ſeaſons and the injuſtice of government may bring upon him.

In our provinces, the vaſſal, or free mercenary digs and ploughs the whole year round, lands that are not his own, and whoſe produce does not belong to him, and he is even happy, if his labour procures him a ſhare of the crops he has ſown and reaped. Obſerved and harraſſed by a hard and reſtleſs landlord, who grudges him the very ſtraw on which he reſts his weary limbs, the wretch is daily expoſed to diſeaſes which joined to his poverty,

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verty, make him wiſh for death, rather than for an expenſive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or ſubject, he is doubly a ſlave; if he has a few acres, his lord comes and gathers them where he has not ſown; if he is worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horſes, he muſt employ them in the public ſervice; if he has nothing but his perſon the prince takes him for a ſoldier. Every where he meets with maſters, and always with oppreſſion.

In our cities, the workman and the artiſt who have no manufacture of their own are at the mercy of greedy and idle maſters, who, by the privilege of monopoly, have purchaſed of government a power of making induſtry work for nothing, and of ſelling its labours at a very high price. The lower claſs have no more than the ſight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occaſions them, and by the inſolence of the pomp that humiliates and oppreſſes them.

Even ſuppoſing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that the perils which navigation and commerce expoſe us to, were leſs pernicious than the roving life of the ſavages, who live upon hunting and fiſhing: ſuppoſe that men who are ever lamenting the ſorrows and affronts that ariſe merely from opinion, are leſs unhappy than the ſavages, who never ſhed a tear in the moſt excruciating tortures; there would ſtill remain

remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the disadvantage of social life. This is the injustice that prevails in the partial distribution of fortunes and stations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cause of oppression.

In vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance and hard labour stupify the lower class of mankind, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from seeing and feeling the injustice of the arrangements of policy in the distribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expostulating with heaven, and asking what he had done, that he should deserve to be born in an indigent and dependent station? Even if great conflicts were inseparable from the more exalted stations, which might be sufficient to balance all the advantages and all the superiority that the social state claims over the state of nature, still the obscure man, who is unacquainted with those conflicts, sees nothing in a high rank, but that affluence which is the cause of his own poverty. He envies the rich man those pleasures to which he is so accustomed, that he has lost all relish for them. What domestic can have a real affection for his master, or what is the attachment of a servant? Was ever prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his subjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the savages, it is because civil life has made us incapable of bear-

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ing ſome natural hardſhips which the ſavage is more expoſed to than we are, and becauſe we are attached to ſome indulgences that cuſtom has made neceſſary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accuſtom himſelf to live among ſavages, and return to the ſtate of nature. We have an inſtance of this in that Scotchman who was caſt away on the iſland of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as ſoon as he was ſo taken up with ſupplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the articulation of words. After four years, he felt himſelf eaſed of the burden of ſocial life, when he had loſt all reflection or thought of the paſt, and all anxiety for the future.

LASTLY, the conſciouſneſs of independence being one of the firſt inſtincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent ſubſiſtence is incomparably happier than the rich man, reſtrained by laws, maſters, prejudices and faſhions, which inceſſantly remind him of the loſs of his liberty. To campare the ſtate of the ſavages to that of children, is to decide at once the queſtion that has been ſo warmly debated by philoſophers, concerning the advantages of the ſtate of nature above thoſe of ſocial life. Children, notwithſtanding the reſtraints of education, are in the happieſt age of human life. Their habitual chearfulneſs, when they are not under the ſchoolmaſter's rod, is the ſureſt indication of the happineſs they feel. After all, a ſingle word

word may determine this great queſtion. Let us aſk the civilized man whether he is happy: and the ſavage whether he is unhappy. If they both anſwer in the negative, the diſpute at an end.

YE civilized nations, this parallel muſt certainly be mortifying to you! but you cannot too ſtrongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you are oppreſſed. The more painful this ſenſation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true cauſes of your ſufferings. You may at laſt be convinced that they proceed from the confuſion of your opinions, from the defects of your political conſtitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual oppoſition to the laws of nature.

AFTER this inquiry into the moral ſtate of the Americans, let us return to the natural ſtate of their country. Let us ſee what it was before the arrival of the Engliſh, and what it is become under their dominion.

In what ſtate the Engliſh found North America, and what they have done there.

THE firſt Engliſhmen who went over to America to ſettle colonies, found immenſe foreſts. The vaſt trees that grew up to the clouds, were ſo ſurrounded with creeping plants, that they could not be approached. The wild beaſts made theſe woods ſtill more inacceſſable. A few ſavages only were met with, clothed with the ſkins of thoſe monſters. The human race, thinly ſcattered, fled from each other, or purſued only with intent to deſtroy. The earth ſeemed uſeleſs to man, and its powers were not exerted ſo much for his ſupport, as in the breeding of animals, more obe-

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dient to the laws of nature. It produced ſpontaneouſly without aſſiſtance and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrouled profuſion for the benefit of all, not for the pleaſures or conveniencies of one ſpecies of beings. The rivers in one place glided freely through the foreſts, in another, ſcattered their unruffled waters in a wide moraſs, from whence iſſuing in various ſtreams they formed a multitude of iſlands, encompaſſed with their channels. Spring was renewed from the decay of autumn. The withered leaves rotting at the foot of the trees, ſupplied them with freſh ſap to enable them to ſhoot out new bloſſoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious numbers of birds. The ſea, daſhing againſt the coaſts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up ſhoals of amphibious monſters, enormous whales, crabs and turtles, that ſported uncontrouled on the deſert ſhores. There nature exerted her plaſtic power, inceſſantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and aſſerting the freedom of the earth and the ſea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced ſymmetry, by the aſſiſtance of all the inſtruments of art. The impenetrable woods were inſtantly cleared, and made room for commodious habitations. The wild beaſts were driven away, and flocks of domeſtic animals ſupplied their place; while thorns and briars made way for rich harveſts.

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The waters forſook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the ſea, by deep canals. The coaſts were covered with towns, and the bays with ſhips; and thus the new world, like the old, became ſubject to man. What powerful engines have raiſed that wonderful ſtructure of European induſtry and policy? Let us reſume the particulars. In the remoteſt part ſtands a ſolitary ſpot, diſtinct from the whole, and which is called Hudſon's bay.

Climate of Hudſon's bay, and cuſtoms of its inhabitants. Trade carried on there.

THIS bay, of about ten degrees in length, is formed by the ocean in the diſtant and northern parts of America. The Breadth of the entrance is about ſix leagues, but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then rather dangerous. This danger ariſes from mountains of ice, ſome of which are ſaid to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or ſix years duration in little gulphs conſtantly filled with ſnow, are forced out of them by north-weſt winds, or by ſome other extraordinary cauſe. The beſt way of avoiding them is to keep as near as poſſible to the northern coaſt, which muſt neceſſarily be leſs obſtructed and moſt free by the natural directions of both winds and currents.

THE north-weſt wind, which blows almoſt conſtantly in winter, and very often in ſummer, frequently raiſes violent ſtorms within the bay itſelf, which is rendered ſtill more dangerous by the number

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number of ſhoals that are found there. Happily, however, ſmall groups of iſlands are met with at different diſtances, which are of a ſufficient height to afford a ſhelter from the ſtorm. Beſide theſe ſmall Archipelagoes, there are in many places large piles of bare rock. Except the Alga Marina, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern ſeas.

THROUGHOUT all the countries ſurrounding this bay, the ſun never riſes or ſets without forming a great cone of light; this phœnomenon is ſucceeded by the Aurora Borealis, which tinges the hemiſphere with coloured rays of ſuch a brilliancy, that the ſplendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithſtanding this there is ſeldom a bright ſky. In ſpring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter, with an infinite number of ſmall icicles. Though the heats in the ſummer are pretty conſiderable for ſix weeks or two months, there is ſeldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great diſperſion of the ſulphureous exhalations, which, however, are ſometimes ſet on fire by the Aurora Borealis; and this light flame conſumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

ONE of the effects of the extreme cold or ſnow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning thoſe animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has beſtowed upon them all, ſoft, long and thick furs, the hair of which falls

falls off as the weather grows milder. In moſt of these quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generenally ſpeaking all thoſe parts in which the circulation is ſlower, becauſe they are the moſt remote from the heart, are extremely ſhort. Wherever they happen to be ſomething longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this gloomy ſky, all liquors become ſolid by freezing, and break the veſſels they are in. Even ſpirit of wine loſes its fluidity. It is not uncommon to ſee fragments of large rocks looſened and detached from the great maſs, by the force of the froſt. All theſe phœnomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in theſe regions has an influence upon the weather, the cauſes of which are not known.

In this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a ſubſtance reſembling ſea coal, have been diſcovered. In other reſpects, the ſoil is extremely barren. Except the coaſts, which are for the moſt part marſhy, and produce a little graſs and ſome ſoft wood, the reſt of the country affords nothing but very high moſs and a few weak ſhrubs very thinly ſcattered.

This deficiency in nature extends itſelf to every thing. The human race are few in number, and there are ſcarce any perſons above four feet high. Their heads bear the ſame enormous proportion to the reſt of their bodies, as thoſe of children do. The ſmallneſs of their feet makes them aukward

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and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, ſeem almoſt a deformity in theſe people, becauſe we ſee nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold climate, that contracts and reſtrains the principles of growth, and is fatal to progreſs of animal as well as of vegetable life. All the men, even the youngeſt of them, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occaſioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleſhy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Eſquimaux, which inhabit not only the coaſt of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewiſe all that tract of country, which extends from the point of Belle-Iſle to the moſt northern parts of America.

THE inhabitants of Hudſon's bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face with ſhort but not flattened noſes, the pupil yellow and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their ſex, among others very long and flabby breaſts. This defect, which is not natural, ariſes from their cuſtom of giving ſuck to their children till they are five or ſix years old. As they often carry them at their backs, the children pull their mother's breaſts forcibly, and almoſt ſupport themſelves by them.

IT is not true that there are hords of the Eſquimaux entirely black, as has been ſuppoſed, and then accounted for, nor that they live under ground.

ground. How ſhould they dig into a ſoil, which the cold renders harder than ſtone? How is it poſſible they ſhould live caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the firſt melting of the ſnows?

It is, however, certain, that they ſpend the winter under huts haſtily built with flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung in the middle of the ſhed, for the purpoſe of dreſſing their game and the fiſh they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour ariſing from this ſmall flame, is ſufficient to make their huts as hot as ſtoves.

The Eſquimaux dwell conſtantly upon the ſea, which ſupplies them with all their proviſions. Both their conſtitution and complexion partake of the quality of their food. The fleſh of the ſeal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink, which produces in them all an olive complexion, a ſtrong ſmell of fiſh, an oily and tenacious ſweat, and ſometimes a ſort of ſcaly leproſy. This is, probably, the reaſon why the mothers have the ſame cuſtom, as the bears, of licking their young ones.

These people, weak and degraded by nature, are notwithſtanding moſt intrepid upon a ſea that is conſtantly dangerous. In boats made and ſowed together like ſo many Borachios, but at the ſame time ſo well cloſed, that it is impoſſible for the water to penetrate them, they follow the ſhoals of herrings

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herrings through the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and ſeals at the peril of their lives. One ſtroke of the whale's tail is ſufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the ſeal is armed with teeth to devour thoſe he cannot drown; but the hunger of the Eſquimaux is ſuperior to the rage of theſe monſters. They have an inordinate deſire for the whale's oil, which is neceſſary to preſerve the heat in their ſtomachs, and defend them from the ſeverity of the cold. Indeed whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fiſh of the north are ſupplied by nature with a quantity of fat which prevents the muſcles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in theſe artic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are reſinous.

THE Eſquimaux are notwithſtanding ſubject to two fatal diſorders, the ſcurvy and the loſs of ſight. The continuation of the ſnows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the ſun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in ſuch a manner, that they are almoſt conſtantly obliged to wear ſhades made of very thin wood, through which ſmall apartures for the light are bored with fiſh-bones. Doomed to a ſix-months night, they never ſee the ſun but obliquely, and then it ſeems rather to blind them than to give them light. Sight, the moſt delightful bleſſing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A STILL

A STILL more cruel evil, which is the ſcurvy, conſumes them by ſlow degrees. It inſinuates itſelf into their blood, changes, thickens and impoveriſhes the whole maſs. The fogs of the ſea, which they inſpire, the denſe and inelaſtic air they breathe in their huts, which exclude all communication with the external air, the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters, a mode of life alternately roving and ſedentary, in a word every circumſtance ſerves to increaſe this dreadful illneſs; which in a little time becomes contagious, and ſpreading itſelf throughout their habitations, is alſo probably entailed upon their poſterity.

Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniencies, the Eſquimaux is ſo paſſionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the moſt favoured ſpot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deſerts. One of the reaſons of this may be that he finds it difficult to breathe in a ſofter and more temperate climate. The ſky of Amſterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though conſtantly obſcured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Eſquimaux. Perhaps too, there may be ſomething in the change of life and manners ſtill more unfavourable to the health of ſavages than the climate. It is not impoſſible but that the delights of an European may be poiſon to the Eſquimaux.

SUCH were the inhabitants of the country diſcovered in 1610 by Henry Hudſon. This intrepid mariner in ſearching after a north-weſt paſſage to the ſouth-ſeas, diſcovered three ſtreights,

BOOK XVII. through which he hoped to find out a new way to Asia by America. He sailed boldly into the midst of the new gulph, and was preparing to explore all its parts, when his treacherous crew put him into the long-boat, with seven others, and left him without either arms or provisions exposed to all the dangers both of sea and land. The barbarians who refused him the necessaries of life could not, however, rob him of the honour of the discovery; and the bay which he first found out will ever be called by his name.

The miseries of the civil war which followed soon after, had, however, made the English forget this distant country, which had nothing to attract them. A succession of more quiet times had not yet induced them to attend to it, when Groseillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, having met with some discontent at home, informed the English who were engaged in repairing the mischiefs of discord by trade, of the profits arising from furs, and of their claim to the country that furnished them. Those who proposed this undertaking shewed so much ability, that they were intrusted with the execution of it, and the first establishment they formed succeeded so well that it surpassed their own hopes as well as their promises.

This success alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reason, that most of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudson's bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous testimony of

their

their *Coureurs de Bois*, who ſince 1656, had been four times as far as the borders of the ſtreight. It would have been an eligible thing to have gone by the ſame road to attack the new colony; but the diſtance being thought too conſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition ſhould be made by ſea. The fate of it was truſted to Groſeillers and Radiſſon, who had been eaſily prevailed upon to renew their attachment to their country.

THESE two bold and turbulent men ſailed from Quebec in 1682, in two veſſels ill equipped, and on their arrival, finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they deſigned to have taken. From this time there began a rivalſhip between the two companies, one ſettled at Canada, the other in England, for the excluſive trade of the bay, which was conſtantly kept up by the diſputes it occaſioned, till at laſt, after each of their ſettlements had been frequently taken and recovered, all hoſtilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, by which the whole was ceded to Great-Britain.

HUDSON'S bay, properly ſpeaking, is only a mart for trade. The ſeverity of the climate having deſtroyed all the corn ſown there at different times, has fruſtrated every hope of agriculture, and conſequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extenſive coaſt, there are not more

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than ninety or a hundred ſoldiers, or factors, who live in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their buſineſs is to receive the furs brought by the neighbouring ſavages in exchange for merchandiſe, of which they have been taught the value and uſe.

THOUGH theſe ſkins are much more valuable than thoſe which are found in countries not ſo far north, yet they are cheaper. The ſavages give ten beaver ſkins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for ſix knives, two for a pound of glaſs beads, ſix for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of ſnuff. Combs, looking-glaſſes, kettles and brandy ſell in proportion. As the beaver is the common meaſure of exchange by another regulation as fraudulent as the firſt, two otters ſkins and three martins are required inſtead of one beaver. Beſides this oppreſſion, which is authoriſed, there is another which is at leaſt tolerated, by which the ſavages are conſtantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and meaſure of what is given them; and by which they loſe about one third of the value.

FROM this regulated ſyſtem of impoſition it is eaſy to gueſs that the commerce of Hudſon's bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in poſſeſſion of it was originally no more than 241,500 livres*, and has been ſucceſſively increaſed

* 10,565l. 12s. 6d.

creaſed to 2,380,500*. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thouſand ſkins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make ſo exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealouſy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of theſe beautiful furs are either conſumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made uſe of in the national manufactures. The reſt are carried into Germany, where the nature of the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

Whether there is a paſſage from Hudſon's bay to the Eaſt Indies?

But it is neither the acquiſition of theſe ſavage riches, nor the ſtill greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade, if it were made free, which have fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudſon's bay always has been and is ſtill looked upon as the neareſt road from Europe to the Eaſt-Indies, and to the richeſt parts of Aſia.

Cabot was the firſt who entertained an idea of a north-weſt paſſage to the South-ſeas; but his diſcoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a crowd of Engliſh navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to ſavage coaſts which no mortal had ever viſited before. Theſe bold and memorable expeditions were more ſtriking than really uſeful. The moſt fortunate of them did not furniſh a ſingle idea relative to the object of purſuit. The Dutch, leſs frequent in their attempts, and who purſued them with leſs ardour, were of courſe not more ſucceſsful,

* 104,146l. 12s. 6d.

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ful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimæra, when the discovery of Hudson's bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguished.

From this time the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour. Those that had been made before in vain by the mother country, whose attention was engrossed by her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England, whose situation was favourable to the enterprise. Still, however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspense by the contradictory accounts received from the adventurers. While some maintained the possibility, some the probability, and others asserted the certainty of the passage; the accounts they gave, instead of clearing up the point, involved it in still greater darkness. Indeed, these accounts are so full of obscurity and confusion, they are silent upon so many important circumstances, and they display such visible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that however impatient we may be of determining the question, it is impossible to build any thing like a solid judgment upon testimonies so suspicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw some kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkness for two centuries past. But upon what grounds have the later navigators entertained better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures?

Let

LET us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural hiſtory, which henceforward muſt be taken for granted. The firſt is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or leſs into the other ſeas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reſervoir by larger or ſmaller openings; from whence it follows that this periodical motion is ſcarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and other gulphs of the ſame nature. A ſecond matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in thoſe which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them riſe above their ordinary boundaries, and that thoſe which blow in a contrary direction retard their motion, at the ſame time that they diminiſh their ſwell.

FROM theſe principles, it is moſt certain that if Hudſon's bay were no more than a gulph incloſed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconſiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the ſource, and would be much leſs ſtrong wherever they ran in a contrary direction to the wind. But it is proved by obſervations made with the greateſt ſkill and preciſion, that the tides are very high throughout the whole bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom of the bay than

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even in the ſtreight itſelf, or at leaſt in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved that even this height increaſes whenever the wind blows from a corner oppoſite to the ſtreight; it is, therefore, certain, that Hudſon's bay has a communication with the ocean, beſide that which has been already found out.

THOSE who have endeavoured to explain theſe very ſtriking facts, by ſuppoſing a communication of Hudſon's with Baffin's bay, or with Davis's ſtreights, are evidently miſtaken. They would not ſcruple to reject this opinion, for which indeed there is no real foundation, if they only conſidered that the tides are much lower in Davis's ſtreights, and in Baffin's bay, than in Hudſon's.

BUT if the tides in Hudſon's bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern ſea, in which they are conſtantly much weaker, it follows that they muſt have their origin in the South-ſea. And this is ſtill further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the higheſt tides ever obſerved upon theſe coaſts are always occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow directly againſt the mouth of the ſtreight.

HAVING thus determined, as much as the nature of the ſubject will permit, the exiſtence of this paſſage ſo long and ſo vainly wiſhed for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. From conſidering every circumſtance, we are induced to think that the attempts

tempts, which have been hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome bay, on the weſtern coaſt. Firſt, the bottom of the ſea is to be ſeen there at the depth of about eleven fathom, which is an evident ſign that the water comes from ſome ocean, as ſuch a tranſparency could not exiſt in waters diſcharged from rivers, or in melted ſnow or rain. Secondly, the currents keep this place always free from ice, while all the reſt of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for but by ſuppoſing them to come from ſome weſtern ſea. Laſtly, the whales, who towards the latter end of autumn always go in ſearch of the warmeſt climates, are found in great abundance in theſe parts towards the end of the ſummer, which would ſeem to indicate that there is an outlet for them from thence to the ſouth ſeas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable, that the paſſage is very ſhort. All the rivers that empty themſelves on the weſtern coaſt of Hudſon's bay are ſmall and ſlow, which ſeems to prove that they do not come from any diſtance; and that conſequently the lands which ſeparate the two ſeas are of a ſmall extent. This argument is ſtrengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occaſioned by the retarded progreſſion of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain ſign that the ocean from whence

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thoſe tides come is very near. If the paſſage is ſhort, and not very far to the north, as every thing ſeems to promiſe, we may alſo preſume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents obſervable in theſe latitudes, which prevents any flakes of ice from continuing there, cannot but give ſome weight to this conjecture.

THE diſcovery that ſtill remains to be made is of ſo much importance, that it would be folly to neglect the purſuit of it. If the paſſage ſo long ſought for were once found, communications would be opened between parts of the globe which hitherto ſeem to have been ſeparated by nature from each other. They would ſoon be extended to the continent of the ſouth ſeas, and to all the numerous iſlands ſcattered upon that immenſe ocean. The intercourſe which has ſubſiſted nearly for three centuries between the commercial nations of Europe, and the moſt remote parts of India, being happily freed from the inconveniencies of a long navigation, would be much quicker, more conſtant, and more advantageous. It is not to be doubted that the Engliſh would be deſirous of ſecuring an excluſive enjoyment of the benefits ariſing from their activity and expences. This wiſh would certainly be very natural, and would be very powerfully ſupported. But as the advantage obtained would be of ſuch a nature, that it would be impoſſible always to preſerve the ſole poſſeſſion of it, we may venture to foretell that all nations muſt in time ſhare it with them.

When-

Whenever this happens, both the ſtreights of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deſerted, and the Cape of Good Hope much leſs frequented. Whatever the conſequences of the diſcovery may be, it is equally the intereſt and dignity of Great-Britain to purſue her attempts till they are either crowned with ſucceſs, or the impoſſibility of ſucceeding is fully demonſtrated. The reſolution ſhe has already taken in 1745 of promiſing a conſiderable reward to the ſeamen who ſhall make this important diſcovery, though it be an equal proof of the wiſdom and generoſity of her councils, is not alone ſufficient to attain the end propoſed. The Engliſh miniſtry cannot be ignorant that all the efforts made either by government, or individuals, will prove abortive, till the trade to Hudſon's bay ſhall be entirely free. The company in whoſe hands it has been ever ſince 1670, not content with neglecting the object of its inſtitution, by taking no ſteps themſelves for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, have thrown every impediment in the way of thoſe who from love of fame, or other motives, have been prompted to this great undertaking. Nothing can ever alter this iniquitous ſpirit, for it is the very ſpirit of monopoly.

Deſcription of Newfoundland.

HAPPILY the excluſive privilege which prevails at Hudſon's bay, and ſeems to preclude all nations from the means of acquiring knowledge and riches, does not extend its oppreſſion to Newfoundland. This iſland, ſituated between 46 and 52 de-

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degrees of north latitude, is ſeparated from the coaſt of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleiſle ſtreights. It is of a triangular form, and ſomething more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only ſpeak by conjecture of the inland parts of it on account of the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of ſucceeding in the attempt. The little that is known of this ſtreight, is that it is full of very ſteep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and ſome very narrow and ſandy valleys. Theſe inacceſſible places are ſtocked with deer, which multiply with the greater eaſe, on account of the ſecurity of their ſituation. No ſavages have ever been ſeen there except ſome Eſquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting ſeaſon. The coaſt abounds with creeks, roads and harbours; is ſometimes covered with moſs, but more commonly with ſmall pebbles, which ſeem as if they had been placed there by deſign, for the purpoſe of drying the fiſh caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat ſtones reflect the ſun's rays, the heat is exceſſive. The reſt of the country is entirely cold; leſs ſo however from its ſituation, than the heights, the foreſts, the winds, and above all the vaſt mountains of ice which come out of the northern ſeas, and fix on theſe coaſts. The ſky towards the northern and weſtern parts is conſtantly ſerene, but is much leſs ſo towards the eaſt and ſouth,

ſouth, both of theſe points being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

THIS iſland was originally diſcovered in 1497, by Cabot, a Venetian, at that time in the ſervice of England, who made no ſettlement there. It was preſumed from the ſeveral voyages undertaken after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, that it was fit for nothing but to carry on the fiſhery of cod, which abounds in that ſea. Accordingly the Engliſh uſed to ſend out at firſt ſmall veſſels in the Spring, which returned again in Autumn, with their freight of fiſh, both ſalt and freſh. The conſumption of this article became almoſt univerſal, and there was a great demand for it, particularly among the Roman Cathelics. The Engliſh took advantage of their ſuperſtition, to enrich themſelves at the expence of the clergy, who had formerly acquired their wealth in England. They conceived an idea of forming ſettlements there. The firſt that were eſtabliſhed at conſiderable diſtances of time from each other, were unſucceſsful, and were all forſaken ſoon after they were founded. The firſt that became of any importance was 1608, the ſucceſs of which raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of emulation, that within forty years, all the ſpace which extends along the eaſtern coaſt, between Conception bay and cape Ras, was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thouſand ſouls. Thoſe who were concerned in the fiſhery, being forced both from the nature of their employment,

and

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and that of the ſoil, to live at a diſtance from each other, opened paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where in an excellent harbour formed between two mountains at a very ſmall diſtance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ſhips, they met with privateers from the mother country, who ſupplied them with every neceſſary in exchange for the produce of their fiſhery.

THE French had turned their views towards Newfoundland, before this proſperity of the Engliſh trade. They had for a long time frequented the ſouthern parts of the iſland, where the Malouins in particular came every year to a place called the Petit Nord. After this ſome of them fixt promiſcuouſly upon the coaſt from cape Ras to Chapeau Rouge, and at length they became numerous enough to form ſomething like a town in the bay of Placentia, where they had every convenience that could make their fiſhery ſucceſsful.

BEFORE the bay is a road of about a league and a half in breadth, not however ſufficiently ſheltered from the N. N. W. winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The ſtreight which forms the entrance of the bay is ſo confined by rocks, that only one veſſel can enter at a time, and not without being towed in. The bay itſelf is about 18 leagues long, and at the extremity of it there is a very ſecure harbour which contains 150 ſhips. Notwithſtanding the advantage of ſuch a ſituation,

ſituation, which might ſecure to France the whole fiſhery of the ſouthern coaſt of Newfoundland, the miniſtry of Verſailles paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687 that a ſmall fort was built at the mouth of the ſtreight, in which a garriſon was placed of about fifty men.

Till this period, the inhabitants whom neceſſity had fixed upon this barren and ſavage coaſt, had been happily forgotten; but from that time began a ſyſtem of oppreſſion which continued increaſing every day from the rapaciouſneſs of the ſucceſſive governors. This tyranny, by which the coloniſts were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was neceſſary to enable them to purſue their labours with ſucceſs, muſt alſo hinder them from increaſing their numbers. The French fiſhery, therefore, could never proſper ſo well as that of the Engliſh. Notwithſtanding this, Great-Britain at the treaty of Utrecht, did not forget the inroads that had ſo often been made upon their territories by their enterpriſing neighbours, who, ſupported by the Canadians accuſtomed to expeditions and to the fatigues of the chace, trained up in the art of buſh-fighting and exerciſed in ſudden attacks, had ſeveral times carried devaſtation into her ſettlements. This was ſufficient to induce her to demand the entire poſſeſſion of the iſland; and the misfortunes of the times obliged the French to give it up; not however without reſerving to themſelves not only the right of fiſhing on one

part

BOOK XVII. part of the island, but also on the Great Bank, which was considered as belonging to it.

Fisheries established at Newfoundland.

THE fish for which these latitudes are so famous, is the cod. The length of this fish does not exceed three feet, and is often less; but the sea does not produce any with mouths as large in proportion to their size, or who are so voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron and glass are often found in their bellies. The stomach, indeed, does not, as has been imagined, digest these hard substances, but by a certain power of inverting itself, like a pocket, discharges whatever loads it.

THE cod fish is found in the northern seas of Europe. The fishery is carried on there by thirty English, sixty French, and 150 Dutch vessels, which taken together carry from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Irish, and above all the Norwegians. The latter are employed before the fishing season, in collecting upon the coast the eggs of the cod, which is the usual bate for pilchards. They sell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thousand tons of this fish, at nine livers* per ton. If markets could be found for it, it might be taken in greater quantity; for an able naturalist, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one single cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This bounty of nature must be still more considerable at Newfoundland,

* 7s. 10d. ½.

land, where the cod fiſh is found in infinitely greater plenty. BOOK XVII.

THE fiſh of Newfoundland is alſo more delicate, though not ſo white; but it is not an object of trade when freſh, and only ſerves for the food of thoſe who are employed in the fiſhery. When it is ſalted and dryed, or only ſalted, it becomes a uſeful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only ſalted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

THIS bank is one of thoſe mountains that are formed under water by the earth which the ſea is continually waſhing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate ſo much in a point, that it is difficult to aſſign the preciſe extent of it, but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it on the European ſide is a kind of bay, which has been called the ditch. Throughout all this ſpace, the depth of water is very different; in ſome places there are only five, in others above ſixty fathom. The ſun ſcarce ever ſhews itſelf there, and the ſky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always high about this ſpot, which muſt be owing to this circumſtance, that the ſea being irregularly driven forwards by currents, bearing ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, ſtrikes with impetuoſity againſt the borders which are every where perpendicular, and is repelled from them with equal violence. This is moſt likely to be

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the true cauſe, becauſe on the bank itſelf, at a little diſtance from the borders, the ſituation is as tranquil as in a harbour, except when a violent wind which comes from a greater diſtance, happens to blow there.

FROM the middle of July to the latter end of Auguſt there is no cod found either upon the great bank or any of the ſmall ones near it; but all the reſt of the year the fiſhery is carried on. The ſhips employed in it are commonly from 50 to 150 tons, and carry no leſs than twelve or more than twenty five men. Theſe fiſhermen are provided with lines, and as ſoon as they arrive are employed in catching a fiſh called the caplin, which they uſe as a bait for the cod.

PREVIOUS to their beginning the fiſhery, they build a gallery on the outſide of the ſhip, which reaches from the main maſt to the ſtern, and ſometimes the whole length of the veſſel. This gallery is furniſhed with barrels, with the tops beaten out. The fiſhermen place themſelves within theſe, and are ſheltered from the weather by a pitched covering faſtened to the barrels. As ſoon as they catch a cod, they cut out its tongue, and give the fiſh to one of the boys to carry it to a perſon appointed for the purpoſe, who immediately ſtrikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a ſmall hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it ſink through another hatchway into the hold; where

where it is ſalted and ranged in piles. The perſon who ſalts it, takes care to leave ſalt enough between each row of fiſh, but not more than is ſufficient to prevent their touching each other, for either of theſe circumſtances neglected would ſpoil the cod.

ACCORDING to natural right, the fiſhery upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind; notwithſtanding which the two powers that have colonies in North America, have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themſelves; and Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who from the number of her monks might have pleaded the neceſſity of aſſerting it, entirely gave up the matter at the laſt peace; ſince which time the Engliſh and French are the only nations that frequent theſe latitudes.

IN 1768, France ſent out 145 ſhips, the expence of which is eſtimated at 2,547,000 livres*. Theſe veſſels which all together carried 8,830 tons, were manned with 1700 men, each of whom, according to calculations, the accuracy of which has been confirmed by repeated experiments, muſt have caught 700 fiſh; ſo that the whole of the fiſhery muſt have produced 1,190,000.

THERE are three different kinds of cod. The firſt conſiſts of thoſe which are twenty-four inches in length or upwards, the ſecond comprehends thoſe which meaſure from nineteen to twenty-four, and the third takes in all that are under nineteen

 inches.

* 111,431l. 5s.

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inches. If the fiſhery yields two fifths of good fiſh, two fifths of moderate fiſh, and one fifth of bad, and if the fiſh is ſold at the common price of 150 livres* the hundred weight, the produce of the whole fiſhery will amount to 1,050,000 livres †. The hundred weight contains 136 cod of the firſt quality, and 272 of the ſecond; which two ſorts taken together ſell for 180 livres ‡ per hundred. Only 136 cod are neceſſary to make up the hundred weight of the third claſs, but this hundred weight ſells only for one third of the other, and is worth only 60 livres §, when the firſt is worth 180 ‖. Conſequently the 1,190,000 cod really caught and reduced in this manner, make only 700,000 cod, which at 150 livres ** per hundred weight, the mean price of the three ſorts of fiſh, will produce only 1,050,000 livres ††. Out of this the crew muſt receive for their ſhare, which is one fifth, 210,000 livres ‡‡, conſequently there remains only 840,000 livres §§ profit for thoſe who are concerned in the management of the trade, which may eaſily be proved to be inſufficient. For in the firſt place we muſt deduct the expences of unloading 145 ſhips, which cannot be reckoned at leſs than 8,700 livres ‖‖. The inſurance of 2,547,000 livres *** at five per cent. muſt amount to 127,350 livres †††. As much

* 6l. 11s. 3d. † 45,937l. 10s. ‡ 7l. 17s. 6d.
§ 2l. 12s. 6d. ‖ 7l. 17s. 6d. ** 6l. 11s. 3d.
†† 45,937l. 10s. ‡‡ 9,187l. 10s. §§ 36,750l.
‖‖ 38ol. 12s. 6d. *** 411,131l. 5s. ††† 5,571l. 11s. 3d.

much alſo muſt be deducted for the intereſt of the money. The value of the ſhips muſt be eſtimated at two thirds of the capital advanced, and will therefore be 1,698,000 livres *. If we allow no more than five per cent. for the annual repair of the ſhips, we ſhall ſtill be obliged to ſubſtract 84,900 livres † from the profits. All theſe ſums added together make a loſs of 357,300 livres ‡, which being aſſeſſed upon a capital of 2,547,000 livres §, amounts to a loſs of 14 livres and 6 deniers ‖ per cent.

THOSE who think this loſs will be compenſated by the oil extracted from the cod's liver, and by the tongues and bowels which are likewiſe ſalted and ſold, will find themſelves much miſtaken, as theſe trifling articles are ſcarce ſufficient to pay the ſalaries of the captains, and the duties laid upon the commiſſions of ſale.

THE French miniſtry muſt, therefore, either abſolutely give up the fiſhery of the green cod, which is conſumed in the capital, and in the northern provinces of France, or muſt take off the enormous duties which are at preſent impoſed upon this kind of conſumption. If they delay much longer to ſacrifice this inſignificant portion of the public revenue to ſo valuable a branch of trade, they will ſoon have the mortification to ſee the revenue diſappear together with the trade that produced it. The only motives that induce the

* 74,287l. 10s. † 3,714l. 7s. 6d. ‡ 15,631l. 17s. 6d.
§ 111,431l. 5s. ‖ 12s. 3d. $\frac{1}{4}$.

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traders ſtill to continue the cod fiſhery, are, the habit of trading, the hopes of amendment, the averſion they have for felling their ſhips and ſtock under prime coſt. But theſe motives will certainly ceaſe, and if we may judge from the general appearance of diſſatisfaction, this event is not very far off.

The Engliſh, the produce of whoſe fiſhery is ſubject to no tax, have not the ſame reaſons for giving it up. They have alſo this further advantage, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors do, but only from Newfoundland or other places not much more diſtant, they can employ very ſmall veſſels, which are eaſily managed, do not riſe high above the water, whoſe ſails may be brought level with the deck, and which are very little affected even by the moſt violent winds; ſo that their work is ſeldom interrupted by the roughneſs of the weather. Beſides, they do not, as other ſeamen, loſe their time in procuring baits, which they bring along with them. In a word, their ſailors are more inured to fatigue, more accuſtomed to the cold, and better diſciplined.

The Engliſh, however, attend very little to the fiſhery of the green cod; becauſe they have no mart for diſpoſing of it. In this branch they do not ſell half ſo much as their rivals. As their cod is prepared with very little care, they ſeldom make up a complete cargo of it. For fear of its ſpoiling, they commonly quit the Great Bank, with two thirds and very often with not more than half their

their lading, which they ſell to the Spaniſh and Portugueſe, and in their own country. But they find a compenſation for this inconſiderable trade in the article of green cod, by the greater quantity of dry cod they ſell in all the markets. BOOK XVII.

THIS branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the wandering fiſhery belongs to veſſels which ſail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they approach the iſland, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, driven by the northern currents towards the ſouth, which is broken to pieces by repeated ſhocks, and melts ſooner or later at the return of the heats. Theſe portions of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftieſt mountains, and extend above ſixty or eighty fathom under water. When joined to ſmaller pieces, they ſometimes occupy a ſpace of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Intereſt, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as ſoon as poſſible, that they may have their choice of the harbours moſt favourable to the fiſhery, makes them brave the rigour of the ſeaſons and of the elements, which are all in a conſpiracy againſt human induſtry. The moſt formidable rampart erected by military art, the dreadful cannonade of a beſieged town, the terrors of the moſt ſkilful and obſtinate ſea-fight require leſs intrepidity and experience to encounter them, than theſe enormous floating bul-

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warks which the ſea oppoſes to theſe ſmall fleets of fiſhermen. But the moſt inſatiable of all paſſions, the thirſt of gold, ſurmounts every obſtacle, and carries the mariner acroſs theſe mountains of ice to the ſpot where the ſhips are to take in their lading.

THE firſt thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect ſcaffolds. All hands are employed in this work. When it is finiſhed, the company divide; one half of the crew ſtays aſhore to cure the fiſh, and the other goes on board in ſmall boats. The boats deſigned for the fiſhery of the caplin carry four men, and thoſe for the cod, three. Theſe laſt boats, of which there is the greateſt number, ſail before it is light, generally at the diſtance of three, four or five leagues from the coaſt, and return in the evening to the ſcaffolds near the ſea ſide, where they depoſit the produce of the day.

WHEN one man has taken off the cod's head and gutted it, he gives it to another, who ſlices it and puts it in ſalt, where it remains eight or ten days. After it has been well waſhed, it is laid on gravel, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then piled up in heaps, and left for ſome days to drain. It is then again laid on the ſtrand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we ſee it have in Europe.

THERE are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fiſhery, which hardly leaves thoſe who work at it four hours reſt in the night,

night. Happily, the ſalubrity of the climate preſerves the health of the people under ſuch ſevere trials; and theſe labours would be thought nothing of, if they were rewarded by the produce.

But there are ſome harbours where the ſtrand is at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, that a great deal of time is loſt in getting to it; and others, in which the bottom is of ſolid rock, and without Varec, ſo that the fiſh do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fiſh grow yellow from a mixture of freſh water with the ſalt; and ſome, in which it is ſcorched by the reverberation of the ſun's rays reflected from the mountains. Even in the moſt favourable harbours, the people are not always ſure of a ſucceſsful fiſhery. The fiſh cannot abound equally in all parts: it is ſometimes found to the north, ſometimes to the ſouth, and at other times in the middle of the coaſt, according as it is driven by the winds or attracted by the Caplin. The fiſhermen, who happen to fix at a diſtance from the places which the fiſh frequent, are very unfortunate, for their expences are all thrown away, becauſe it is impoſſible for them to follow the fiſh with all their neceſſary apparatus.

The fiſhery ends about the beginning of September, becauſe at that time the ſun has not power enough to dry the fiſh; but when it has been ſucceſsful, the managers give over before that time, and make the beſt of their way either to the Caribbee iſlands, or to the Roman catholic ſtates

in

BOOK XVII. in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the firſt markets which might be loſt by an over ſtock.

In 1768, France ſent out on this trade 114 veſſels, amounting in the whole to 15,590 tons burthen; the prime coſt of which, together with the firſt expences of ſetting out, was 5,661,000 livres *. The united crews, half of which were employed in taking the fiſh, and the other half in curing it, conſiſted of 8,022 men. Every fiſherman muſt have taken for his ſhare 6000 cod, and conſequently, the produce of the whole muſt have been 24,066,000. Experience ſhews that there are 125 cod to each quintal. Conſequently 24,066,000 muſt have made 192,528 quintals. Each quintal upon an average, ſold at 16 livres, 9 ſols, and 6 deniers †, which makes for the whole ſale 3,174,305 livres 8 ſols ‡. As every hundred quintal of cod yields one barrel of oil, 192,528 quintals muſt have yielded 1925 barrels, which at 120 livres § a barrel makes 231,000 livres ‖. Add to theſe, the profits of freight made by the ſhips returning home from the poſts where they ſold their cargoes, which are eſtimated at 198,000 livres **, and the total profits of the fiſhery will not be found to have amounted to more than 3,603,305 livres, 8 ſols ††.

We

* 247,668l. 15s. † About 14s. 5d.
‡ 138,875l. 17s. 2d. $\frac{3}{4}$. § 5l. 5s. ‖ 10,106l. 5s.
** 8,662l. 10s. †† 157,644l. 12s. 2d. $\frac{3}{4}$.

We may ſpare our readers a detail of the expences of unloading, which are troubleſome on account of their minuteneſs as well as their inſignificancy. The calculations of theſe have been made with the greateſt care and attention, and the accounts confirmed by very intelligent and diſintereſted men, who from their profeſſions muſt have been the proper judges of this matter. They amount in the whole to 695,680 livres, 17 ſols, 6 deniers*, ſo that the net produce of the fiſhery amounts only to 2,907,624 livres, 10 ſols, 6 deniers †.

From theſe profits, the aſſurance money muſt be deducted, which at 6 per cent. upon a capital of 5,661,000 livres ‡, amounts to 339,660 livres §. We muſt alſo reckon the intereſt of the money, making at 5 per cent. 283,050 livres ‖. Neither muſt we omit the wear of the ſhips, the prime coſt of which making half the whole capital, muſt be ſet down at 2,830,500 livres **: this wear therefore which cannot be reckoned at leſs than 5 per cent. muſt amount to 141,525 livres ††. Admitting all theſe circumſtances, which, indeed, cannot be called in queſtion, it follows that the French have loſt upon their wandering fiſhery in 1768, 687,110 livres, 9 ſols, 6 deniers ‡‡, and conſequently 12 livres, 2 ſols, 9 deniers §§ per cent. of their capital.

Such

* 30,436l. os. 9d. † 127,208l. 11s. 3d ½. ‡ 247,668l. 15s. § 14,860l. 2s. 6d. ‖ 12,383l. 8s. 9d. ** 123,834l. 7s. 6d. †† 6,191l. 14s. 4d. ½. ‡‡ 30,061l. 1s. 8d. §§ 10s. 7d. ⅚.

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Such losses, which unfortunately have been but too often repeated, will wean the nation more and more from this ruinous branch of trade. Individuals who still carry it on, will soon give it up; and it is even probable, that in imitation of the English they would have done so already, if like them they had been able to make themselves amends by the stationary fishery.

By stationary fishery we are to understand that which is carried on by the Europeans who have settlements on those coasts of America where the cod is most plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it is attended with much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable possessors of Acadia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland. They have lost them one after another by the errors of government, and from the wreck of these riches, have only preserved a right of salting and drying their fish to the north of Newfoundland, from cape Bona Vista to Point Rich. All the fixed establishments left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St. Peter's, and the two islands of Miquelon, where they are not even at liberty to build fortifications. There are 800 inhabitants in St. Peters, not more than 100 in great Miquelon, and only one family in the smaller. The fishery which is extremely convenient upon the two first, is entirely impracticable on the last-mentioned island, which however supplies

ſupplies them both with wood, and particularly St. Peters, which has none of its own. Nature however has made amends for this circumſtance at St. Peters, by an excellent harbour, which indeed is the only one in this large Archipelago, In 1768, 24,390 quintals of cod were taken, but this quantity will not much increaſe, becauſe the Engliſh not only refuſe the French the liberty of fiſhing in the narrow channel, which ſeparates theſe iſlands from the ſouthern coaſts of Newfoundland, but have even ſeized ſome of the ſloops which attempted it.

THIS rigorous treatment, which is not warranted by treaty, and only maintained by force, is the more oppreſſive, as Great-Britain extends its empire over all the coaſts, and all the iſlands frequented by the fiſh. Her principal ſettlement is at Newfoundland, where there are about 8000 Engliſh, who are all employed in the fiſhery. No more than nine or ten ſhips a year are ſent out from the mother country for this purpoſe; and there are ſome few more which engage in other articles of commerce; but the greater part only exchange the productions of Europe for fiſh, or carry off the produce of the induſtry of the inhabitants.

BEFORE 1755, the fiſheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal, with this difference only, that France conſumed more at home, and ſold leſs, in proportion to her population and her religion; but ſince ſhe has loſt her poſſeſſions in North America, one year with another, the two fiſheries, that

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is the ſtationary and the wandering united, have not yielded more than 216,918 quintals of dry cod, which is barely ſufficient for the conſumption of the ſouthern provinces of the mother country, and of courſe admits of no exportation to the colonies.

It may be aſſerted that the rival nation, on the contrary, has increaſed its fiſhery two thirds ſince its conqueſts, making in all 651,114 quintals, the profits of which, valuing each quintal at no more than 14 livres*, a difference owing to its being cured with leſs care than the French fiſh, will amount to 9,115,596 livres†. One fourth of this is ſufficient for the conſumption of Great-Britain and her colonies; conſequently what is ſold in Spain, Portugal, and all the ſugar iſlands amounts to a ſum of 6,836,697 livres‡ returned to the mother country, either in ſpecie or commodities. This object of exportation would have been ſtill more conſiderable, if, after the conqueſt of Cape Breton and St. John's, the court of London had not been ſo inhuman as to drive out the French they found ſettled there; who have never yet been replaced, and, probably, never will. The ſame bad policy has alſo been followed in Nova Scotia.

The French cede Nova Scotia to England after having been a long time in poſſeſſion of it themſelves.

Nova Scotia, by which at preſent is underſtood all the coaſt of 300 leagues in length, included between the limits of New England and the ſouth coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, ſeemed at firſt to have comprehended only the great triangular

* 12s. 3d. † 398,807l. 6s. 6d. ‡ 299,105l. 9s. 10d. ½.

gular peninſula, lying nearly in the middle of this ſpace. This peninſula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well ſituated for the ſhips which come from the Caribbee iſlands to water at. It has a number of excellent ports, which ſhips may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon this coaſt, and ſtill more upon ſmall banks at the diſtance of a few leagues. The ſoil, which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying it; it abounds likewiſe with good wood, and land fit for ſeveral ſorts of cultivation, and is extremely well ſituated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Though this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and ſevere, and followed by ſudden and exceſſive heats, to which generally ſucceed very thick fogs, that laſt a long time. Theſe circumſtances make this rather a diſagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholeſome one.

It was in 1604 that the French ſettled in Acadia, four years before they had built the ſmalleſt hut in Canada. Inſtead of fixing towards the eaſt of the peninſula, where they would have had larger ſeas, an eaſy navigation, and plenty of cod, they choſe a ſmall bay, afterwards called French bay, which had none of theſe advantges. It has been ſaid, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of wa-

ter,

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ter, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuſe this ſituation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the excluſive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumſtance: that both the firſt monopolizers, and thoſe who ſucceeded them, took the utmoſt pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom an unſettled diſpoſition or neceſſity brought into theſe regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, fiſhing, and every kind of culture; chuſing rather to engage the induſtry of theſe adventurers in hunting or in trading with the ſavages.

THE miſchiefs ariſing from a falſe ſyſtem of adminſtration, at length diſcovered the fatal effects of excluſive charters. It would be inconſiſtent with truth and dignity of hiſtory to ſay that this happened in France from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when theſe rights were moſt openly violated. Theſe ſacred rights, which only can ſecure the ſafety of the people, while they give a ſanction to the power of kings, was never known in France. But in the moſt abſolute governments, a ſpirit of ambition ſometimes effects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of juſtice. The miniſters of Lewis the XIV, who wiſhed by making their maſter reſpectable, to reflect ſome honour on themſelves, perceived that they ſhould not ſucceed without the ſupport of riches; and

that

that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both theſe reſources had been hitherto precluded in the colonies by the univerſal reſtraints that are always impoſed, when the government interferes improperly in every minute concern. Theſe impediments were at laſt removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able to make uſe of this liberty.

This colony was yet in its infancy, when the ſettlement which has ſince become ſo famous under the name of New-England, was firſt eſtabliſhed in its neighbourhood. The rapid ſucceſs of the plantations in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of proſperity did not excite any jealouſy between the two nations. But when they began to ſuſpect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to ſecure to themſelves the ſole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to ſucceed.

At their firſt arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninſula, as well as the foreſts of the neighbouring continent, peopled with ſmall ſavage nations, who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other ſavage nations, they were more ſociable in their manners. The miſſionaries eaſily inſinuating themſelves among them, had ſo far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthuſiaſts of them. At the ſame time that they taught them their religion, they

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inſpired them with that hatred, which they themſelves entertained for the Engliſh name. This fundamental article of their new worſhip, being that which made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on their ſenſes, and the only one that favoured their paſſion for war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refuſed to make any kind of exchange with the Engliſh, but alſo frequently attacked and plundered their ſettlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obſtinate and more regular, after they had choſen St. Caſteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan for their commander; who was ſettled among them, had married one of their women, and conformed in every reſpect to their mode of life.

When the Engliſh ſaw that all efforts either to reconcile the ſavages, or to deſtroy them in their foreſts were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon with reaſon as the only cauſe of all theſe calamities. Whenever the leaſt hoſtility took place between the two mother countries, the peninſula was attacked. Unable to procure any aſſiſtance from Canada, on account of its diſtance, and having but a feeble defence in Port-Royal, which was only ſurrounded by a few paliſades, it was conſtantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded ſome ſatisfaction to the New-Englanders, to ravage this colony and to retard its progreſs; but ſtill this was not ſufficient to remove the ſuſpicions excited by a nation always more formidable

by

by what ſhe is able to do, than by what ſhe really does. Obliged as they were, however unwillingly, to reſtore their conqueſt at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain ſhould acquire ſuch a ſuperiority as would enable her to diſpenſe with this reſtitution. The end of the war on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion brought on the deciſive moment; and the court of Verſailles was for ever deprived of a poſſeſſion of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the Engliſh had ſhewn for the poſſeſſion of this territory did not manifeſt itſelf afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very ſlight fortification at Port-Royal, which they called Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne, they contented themſelves with putting a very ſmall garriſon in it. The indifference ſhewn by the government was adopted by the nation, a circumſtance not uſual in a free country. Not more than five or ſix Engliſh families went over to Acadia, which ſtill remained inhabited by the firſt coloniſts; who were only perſuaded to ſtay upon a promiſe made them of never being compelled to bear arms againſt their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cheriſhed by the government, reſpected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a ſeries of proſperities which had rendered their name illuſtrious and aggrandized their power, they poſſeſſed that patriotic ſpirit which is the effect of ſucceſs.

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They eſteemed it an honour to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in ſubmitting to a new yoke, had ſworn never to bear arms againſt their former ſtandards, were called the French neutrals.

THERE were twelve or thirteen hundred of them ſettled in the capital, the reſt were diſperſed in the neighbouring country. No magiſtrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new ſovereign ſeemed to have forgotten them; and they were equally ſtrangers to him.

Manners of the French who remained ſubject to the Engliſh government in Nova Scotia.

HUNTING and fiſhing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might ſtill have ſupplied it with ſubſiſtence, had no further attraction for a ſimple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marſhes and the low lands, by repelling the ſea, and rivers which covered theſe plains, with dikes. Theſe grounds yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards fifteen or twenty times as much at leaſt. Wheat and oats ſucceeded beſt in them, but they likewiſe produced rye, barley, and maize. There were alſo potatoes in great plenty, the uſe of which was become common.

AT the ſame time the immenſe meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thouſand head of horned cattle were computed there; and moſt of the families had ſeveral horſes, though the tillage

tillage was carrried on by oxen. The habitations, built entirely with wood, were extremely convenient, and furniſhed as neatly as a ſubſtantial farmer's houſe in Europe. The people bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was in general wholeſome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they ſometimes added rum. Their uſual cloathing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own ſheep. With theſe they made common linens and coarſe cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louiſbourg, and gave in exchange, corn, cattle or furs.

The neutral French had no other articles to diſpoſe of among their neighbours, and made ſtill fewer exchanges among themſelves, becauſe each ſeparate family was able and had been uſed to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper currency, which was ſo common throughout the reſt of North-America. Even the ſmall quantity of ſpecie, which had ſtolen into the colony did not promote that circulation which is the greateſt advantage that can be derived from it.

Their manners were of courſe extremely ſimple. There never was a cauſe either civil or criminal of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature eſtabliſhed at Annapolis. Whatever little differences aroſe from time to time among them were amicably adjuſted by their elders. All

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their public acts were drawn by their paſtors, who had likewiſe the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious ſervices the inhabitants paid a twenty-ſeventh part of their harveſts.

THESE were plentiful enough to ſupply more than a ſufficiency to fulfill every act of liberality. Real miſery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved as it were, before it could be felt; and good was univerſally diſpenſed without oſtentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the perſon who received. Theſe people were in ſhort a ſociety of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all thoſe connections of gallantry which are ſo often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an inſtance in this ſociety of an unlawful commerce between the two ſexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one paſſed his youth in a ſtate of celibacy. As ſoon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a houſe, broke up the lands about it, ſowed them, and ſupplied him with all the neceſſaries of life, for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had choſen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and proſpered like the others. In

1749

1749 they all together amounted to eighteen thou- BOOK
ſand ſouls. XVII.

At this period Great Britain perceived of what conſequence the poſſeſſion of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace which neceſſarily left a great number of men without employment, furniſhed an opportunity, by the diſbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vaſt and fertile territory. The Britiſh miniſtry offered particular advantages to all perſons who choſe to go over and ſettle in Acadia. Every ſoldier, ſailor and workman was to have fifty acres of land for himſelf, and ten for every perſon he carried over in his family. All non-commiſſioned officers were allowed eighty for themſelves, and 15 for their wives and children; enſigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 460; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the firſt ten years, and never to pay above one livre, two ſols, ſix deniers * for fifty acres. Beſides this the government engaged to advance or reimburſe the expences of paſſage, to build houſes, to furniſh all the neceſſary inſtruments for fiſhery or agriculture; and to defray the expences of ſubſiſtence for the firſt year. Theſe encouragements determined three thouſand, ſeven hundred and fifty perſons in the month of May 1749 to go to America, rather than run the riſque of ſtarving in Europe.

* About one ſhilling.

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It was intended that these new inhabitants should form a settlement to the south-east of Acadia, in a place which the savages formerly called Chebucto, and the English Hallifax. This situation was preferred to several others where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fishery, and fortifying one of the finest harbours in America. But as it was the part of the country most favourable for the chace, the English were obliged to dispute it with the Micmac Indians, by whom it was most frequented. These savages defended with obstinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not without very great losses that the English drove them out from their possessions.

This war was not entirely finished, when some disturbances began to break out among the neutral French. These people whose manners were so simple and who enjoyed such liberty, had already perceived that their independence must necessarily suffer some encroachments from any power that should turn its views to the countries they inhabited. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the governors of Canada, made them believe all they chose to say against the English, whom they called heretics. This word, which has so powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where

where lands were offered them. This reſolution many of them executed immediately, without conſidering the conſequences of it; the reſt were preparing to follow as ſoon as they had provided for their ſafety. The Engliſh government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always baſe and cruel in thoſe whoſe power gives them an opportunity of purſuing milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming Engliſh ſubjects, they called together all the remaining inhabitants, and put them on board of ſhip. They were conveyed to the other Engliſh colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the effects of national jealouſies, and of the rapaciouſneſs of government, to which men as well as their property become a prey. What our enemies loſe is reckoned an advantage, what they gain, is looked upon as a loſs. When a town cannot be taken, it is ſtarved; when it cannot be kept, it is burnt to aſhes, or its foundations raſed. A ſhip or a fortified town is blown up, rather than the ſailors, or the garriſon will ſurrender. A deſpotic government ſeparates its enemies from its ſlaves by immenſe deſerts, to prevent the irruptions of the one, and the emigrations of the other. Thus it is that Spain has rather choſen to make a wilderneſs of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches

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riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the ſpice trade. They have frequently thrown whole cargoes into the ſea, rather than they would ſell them at a low price. France rather choſe to give up Louiſiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and England deſtroyed the neutral French inhabitants of Acadia to prevent their returning to France. Can we aſſert after this that policy and ſociety were inſtituted for the happineſs of mankind? Yes: they were inſtituted to ſcreen the wicked, and to ſecure the powerful.

Preſent ſtate of Nova Scotia.

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happineſs to their virtuous obſcurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. The ſame rage which depopulated the country, ſeems to have blaſted it. At leaſt the puniſhment of the injuſtice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a ſingle inhabitant to be ſeen upon all that length of coaſt between the river St. Lawrence, and the peninſula; neither is it probable, from the number of rocks, ſands and moraſſes which cover it at preſent, that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in ſome of its bays, invites every year a ſmall number of fiſhermen during the ſeaſon.

THERE are only three ſettlements in the reſt of the province. Annapolis, the moſt ancient of them, ſituated at the mouth of a long bay, waits for

for fresh inhabitants to supply the place of the unhappy Frenchmen who were driven from it; and it seems to promise them rich returns from the fertility of its soil. BOOK XVII.

LUNENBURGH, the second settlement, was founded a few years ago by 800 Germans from Hallifax. At first, it did not promise such success; but is considerably improved by the unremitted industry of that warlike and wise people, who contented with defending their own territory, seldom go out of it, but to cultivate others which they are not ambitious of conquering. They have fertilized all the countries under the English dominion, wherever chance has conducted them.

HALLIFAX will always continue to be the principal place in the province; an advantage it owes to the encouragements lavished upon it by the mother country. Their expences for this settlement from its first foundation to the year 1769, amounted to more than 90,000 livres * per annum. Such favours were not ill bestowed upon a city, which from its situation is the natural rendezvous of both the land and sea forces. Great Britain sometimes thinks herself obliged to maintain in America, as well for the defence of her fisheries, and the protection of her sugar islands, as for the purpose of preserving her connections with her northern colonies. Hallifax, indeed, derives more of its splendour from the motion and activity which is constantly kept up in its ports,

* 3,937l. 10s.

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ports, than either from its agriculture which is trifling, or from its fiſheries which have not been conſiderably improved, though they conſiſt of cod, mackarel, and the ſeal. It is not even in the ſtate it ſhould be as a fortified town. From the malverſations of perſons in office, who inſtead of the fortifications ordered and paid for by the mother country, have only erected a few batteries without any ditch round the city, it is not likely to make the leaſt reſiſtance to any enemy that attacks it. In 1757, the inhabitants of the county of Hallifax rated the value of their houſes, cattle and merchandiſe at about 6,750,000 livres *. This ſum, which makes about two thirds of the riches of the whole province, has not increaſed above one fourth ſince that time.

But will the province continue in this weak ſtate for any length of time? Is it not with a view of preventing this, that in 1763 the Britiſh government conſtituted a court of admiralty for all North America, and fixed it at Hallifax? Before this period, the juſtices of peace were the judges of all violations of the act of navigation; but the partiality theſe magiſtrates uſed to ſhew in their deciſions for the colony where they were born, and by which they had been choſen, rendered their miniſtry uſeleſs, and even prejudicial to the mother country. It was preſumed, that men of underſtanding ſent from Europe, and properly ſupported, would be treated with greater reſpect, and

* 295,312l. 10s.

and keep the people more in awe. The event has justified this policy. Since that regulation, the commercial laws have been better observed; but still great inconveniencies have been occasioned by the distance of many provinces from the seat of this new tribunal. It is probable that to remedy these, administration will be forced to multiply the number of the courts, and disperse them in places convenient for the people to have access to them. Nova Scotia will then lose the precarious advantage it gains from determining all causes relative to the navy; but it will, probably, find out other natural sources of wealth within itself. It has some, indeed, that are peculiar to it. The exceeding fine flax it produces, of which the three kingdoms are so much in want, must hasten the progress of its improvement. Nova Scotia must not, however, expect ever to vie with New England.

Foundation of New England.

New England, like the mother country, has signalized itself by many acts of violence; and has been actuated by the same turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia, but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed, and for some time after there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the

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the ſake of trading with the ſavages, and like them, diſappeared again for the reſt of the year. Fanaticiſm which had depopulated America to the ſouth, was deſtined to repeople it in the north. Some Engliſh preſbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that univerſal aſylum of liberty, reſolved to found a church for their ſect in the new hemiſphere. They, therefore, purchaſed in 1621 the charter of the Engliſh North Virginia company: for they were not reduced to ſuch a ſtate of poverty, as to be obliged to wait till proſperity became the reward of their virtues. Forty-one families, making in all 120 perſons, ſet out under the guidance of enthuſiaſm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy proſpect to men already exhauſted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half periſhed either by cold, the ſcurvy, or diſtreſs; the reſt were kept alive, for ſome time, by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, and the ſteadineſs of character they had acquired under the perſecution of epiſcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of ſixty ſavage warriors, who came to them in the ſpring, headed by their chief. Freedom ſeemed to exult that ſhe had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two ſuch different people; who

who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendſhip and protection. The old tenants aſſigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the ſettlement they had formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the ſavages, who underſtood a little Engliſh, ſtayed to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and inſtruct them in the manner of fiſhing upon their coaſt. BOOK XVII.

THIS kindneſs enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with ſeeds, with domeſtic animals, and with every aſſiſtance they wanted. At firſt theſe ſuccours arrived but ſlowly, but the perſecution of the puritans in England increaſed, as uſual, the number of proſelytes to ſuch a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to form different ſettlements, of which Boſton ſoon became the principal. Theſe firſt ſettlers were not merely eccleſiaſtics, who had been deprived of their preferment on account of their opinions, nor thoſe ſectaries influenced by new opinions, that are ſo frequent among the common people. There were among them ſeveral perſons of high rank, who having embraced puritaniſm either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conſcience, had taken the precaution to ſecure themſelves an aſylum in theſe diſtant regions. They had cauſed houſes to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty ſhould prove abortive.

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abortive. The ſame fanatical ſpirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a ſtate of ſubordination, or rather a ſeverity of manners, had the ſame effect as laws in a ſavage climate.

THE inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of policy. Not that their charter had not authorized them to eſtabliſh any mode of government they might chuſe, but theſe enthuſiaſts were not agreed among themſelves upon the plan of their republic; and government did not pay ſufficient attention to them to urge them to ſecure their own tranquillity. At length they grew ſenſible of the neceſſity of a regular legiſlation, and this great work which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticiſm. It bore the ſtamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

THERE was in this new code a ſingular mixture of good and evil, of wiſdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any ſhare in the government except he were a member of the eſtabliſhed church. Witchcraft, perjury, blaſphemy, and adultery were made capital offences; and children were alſo puniſhed with death, either for curſing or ſtriking their parents. Marriages, however, were to be ſolemnized by the magiſtrate. The price of corn was fixed at 3 livres, 7 ſols, 6 deniers * per buſhel. The ſavages who neglected to cultivate

* 2s. 11d. ½.

cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them; and Europeans were forbidden under a heavy penalty to ſell them any ſtrong liquors or warlike ſtores. All thoſe who were detected either in lying, drunkenneſs, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But at the ſame that amuſements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might be allowed to ſwear by paying a penalty of one livre, two ſols, ſix deniers*, and to break the ſabbath for 67 livres, 10 ſols†. Another indulgence allowed, was, to atone by a fine for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a raſh oath. But it is ſtill more extraordinary that the worſhip of images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of death, which was alſo inflicted on Roman catholic prieſts, who ſhould return to the colony after they had been baniſhed; and on quakers who ſhould appear again after having been whipped, branded and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for theſe ſectaries, who had themſelves an averſion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was liable to pay a conſiderable fine.

Fanaticiſm occaſions great calamities in New-England.

THOSE unfortunate members of the colony, who, leſs violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magiſtrate in matters of religion, were perſecuted with ſtill greater rigour. This was conſidered as blaſphemy by thoſe very divines who had rather choſen to quit

* 11d. ½. † 2l. 19s. 9d. ¾.

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their country than to ſhew any deference to epiſcopal authority. By that natural propenſity of the human heart which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only ſeemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themſelves, in order to deny it to others. This ſyſtem was ſupported by the ſervices of the law, which attempted to put a ſtop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital puniſhment on all who diſſented. Thoſe who were either convicted or even ſuſpected of entertaining ſentiments of toleration, were expoſed to ſuch cruel oppreſſions, that they were forced to fly from their firſt aſylum, and ſeek refuge in another. They found one on the ſame continent, and as New England had been firſt founded by perſecution, its limits were extended by it.

THIS intemperate religious zeal extended itſelf to matters in themſelves of the greateſt indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, tranſcribed from the regiſters of the colony.

"IT is a circumſtance univerſally acknowledged, "that the cuſtom of wearing long hair, after the "manner of immoral perſons and of the ſavage "Indians, can only have been introduced into "England, but in ſacrilegious contempt of the "expreſs command of God, who declares that it "is a ſhameful practice for any man who has "the leaſt care for his ſoul to wear long hair.

"As

" As this abomination excites the indignation of all pious perſons; we, the magiſtrates, in our zeal for the purity of the faith, do expreſsly and authentically declare, that we condemn the impious cuſtom of letting the hair grow; a cuſtom which we look upon to be very indecent and diſhoneſt, which horribly diſguiſes men, and is offenſive to modeſt and ſober perſons, in as much as it corrupts good manners. We, therefore, being juſtly incenſed againſt this ſcandalous cuſtom, do deſire, adviſe, and earneſtly requeſt all the elders of our continent, zealouſly to ſhew their averſion from this odious practice, to exert all their power to put a ſtop to it, and eſpecially to take care that the members of their churches be not infected with it; in order that thoſe perſons, who, notwithſtanding theſe rigorous prohibitions, and the means of correction, that ſhall be uſed on this account, ſhall ſtill perſiſt in this cuſtom, ſhall have both God and man at the ſame time againſt them.

This ſeverity, which a man exerciſes againſt himſelf, or againſt his fellow-creatures, and which makes him firſt the victim, then the oppreſſor, ſoon exerted itſelf againſt the Quakers. They were whipped, baniſhed, and impriſoned. The proud ſimplicity of theſe new enthuſiaſts, who in the midſt of tortures and ignominy praiſed God, and called for bleſſings upon men, inſpired a reverence for their perſons and opinions, and gained them a number of proſelytes. This circumſtance exaſperated

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asperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence. They caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelties the Spaniards had used against the Indians; whether it was that the change of climate had rendered the Europeans more ferocious; or that the fury of religious zeal can only be be extinguished in the destruction of its apostles and its martyrs. This spirit of persecution was, however, at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

CROMWELL was no more. Enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions were all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles the second, at his restoration, had introduced among his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was travelling from one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to regain the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of manners, could possibly have secured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne stained with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries, whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity.

Moved

Moved with the ſufferings of the Quakers, he put a ſtop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguiſh the ſpirit of perſecution that prevailed in America. BOOK XVII.

THE colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the ſon of that Sir Henry Vane, who had had ſuch a remarkable ſhare in the diſturbances of his country. This obſtinate and enthuſiaſtic young man, in every thing reſembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himſelf, or to ſuffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obſcure and obſolete queſtions of grace and free will. The diſputes upon theſe points ran very high, and would, probably, have plunged the colony into a civil war, if ſeveral of the ſavage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the diſputants, and to maſſacre great numbers of them. The coloniſts heated with their theological conteſts paid at firſt very little attention to this conſiderable loſs. But the danger at length became ſo urgent and ſo general, that all took up arms. As ſoon as the enemy was repulſed, the colony reſumed its former diſſentions; and the phrenzy which they excited, broke out in 1692 in a war, marked with as many atrocious inſtances of violence, as any ever recorded in hiſtory.

THERE lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women who were ſubject to convulſions, accompanied with extraordinary ſymptoms. Their father, miniſter of the church, thought

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that they were bewitched; and having in conſequence caſt his ſuſpicions upon an Indian girl, who lived in this houſe, he compelled her by harſh treatment to confeſs that ſhe was a witch. Other women upon hearing this, ſeduced by the pleaſure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulſions which proceeded only from the nature of their ſex, were owing to the ſame cauſe. Three citizens, caſually named, were immediately thrown into priſon, accuſed of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left expoſed to wild beaſts and birds of prey. A few days after, ſixteen other perſons, together with a counſellor, who becauſe he refuſed to plead againſt them, was ſuppoſed to ſhare in their guilt, ſuffered in the ſame manner. From this inſtant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with theſe horrid and gloomy ſcenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modeſty, fortune, honour, virtue, and the moſt dignified employments of the ſtate, were no ſecurity againſt the ſuſpicions of a people infatuated with viſionary ſuperſtition. Children of ten years of age were put to death, young girls were ſtripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft ſearched for upon their bodies with the moſt indecent curioſity thoſe ſpots of the ſcurvy which age impreſſes upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident ſigns of the infernal power. Fanaticiſm, wickedneſs and vengeance united, ſelected their victims at pleaſure. In default of witneſſes, torments were employed to extort

tort confeſſions dictated by the executioners themſelves. If the magiſtrates, tired out with executions refuſed to puniſh, they were themſelves accuſed of the crimes they tolerated; the very miniſters of religion raiſed falſe witneſſes againſt them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorſe excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and conſternation of every kind increaſed theſe prodigies of folly and horror. The priſons were filled, the gibbets left ſtanding, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehenſions. The moſt prudent quitted a country ſtained with the blood of its inhabitants; and thoſe that remained wiſhed only for peace in the grave. In a word, nothing leſs than the total and immediate ſubverſion of the colony was expected, when on a ſudden, in the height of the ſtorm, the waves ſubſided, and a calm enſued. All eyes were opened at once, and the exceſs of the evil awakened the minds which it had firſt ſtupified. Bitter and painful remorſe was the immediate conſequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general faſt, and public prayers were offered up to aſk forgiveneſs for the preſumption of having ſuppoſed that heaven could have been pleaſed with ſacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Posterity will, probably, never know exactly what was the cauſe or remedy of this dreadful diſorder. It had, perhaps, its firſt origin in the melancholy, which theſe perſecuted enthuſiaſts had

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brought with them from their own country, which had increaſed with the ſcurvy they had contracted at ſea, and had gathered freſh ſtrength from the vapours and exhalations of a ſoil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardſhips inſeparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceaſed like all other epidemical diſtempers, exhauſted by its very communication; as all the diſorders of the imagination are expelled in the tranſports of a delirium. A perfect calm ſucceeded this agitation; and the puritans of New-England have never ſince been ſeized with ſo gloomy a fit of enthuſiaſm.

Severities ſtill ſubſiſting in the laws of New-England.

BUT though the colony has renounced the perſecuting ſpirit which hath ſtained all religious ſects with blood, it has preſerved ſome remains if not of intoleration, at leaſt, of ſeverity, which reminds us of thoſe melancholy days in which it took its riſe. Some of its laws are ſtill too ſevere.

[IN ſupport of this poſition the author introduces the ſtory of Polly Baker, who was brought before the magiſtrates and convicted the fifth time of having had a baſtard child. He gives the ſpeech ſhe is ſaid to have made on this occaſion at full length. But as this ſpeech is in the hands of every Engliſh reader, the tranſlator has judged it unneceſſary to ſwell his tranſlation with it. The author's reaſoning upon it is as follows:]

THIS ſpeech produced an affecting change in the minds of all the audience. She was not only acquitted

acquitted of either penalty or corporal punishment, but her triumph was so complete, that one of her judges married her. So superior is the voice of reason to all the powers of studied eloquence. But popular prejudice has resumed its influence; whether it be, that the representations of nature alone are often stifled by an attention to political advantages, or to the benefit of society; or that, under the English government, where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is less excuse for an illicit commerce between the sexes than in those countries, where the clergy, the nobility, luxury, poverty, and the scandalous example given by the court and the church, all concur in degrading and corrupting the married state, in rendering it burthensome, and deterring many persons from entering into it.

New England has some remedy against bad laws in the constitution of its mother country, where the people who have the legislative power in their own hands are at liberty to correct abuses; and it has others derived from its situation, which open a vast field to industry and population.

Government, population, cultures, manufactures, trade and navigation of New-England.

This colony, bounded on the north by Canada, on the west by New-York, and on the east and south by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles along the sea coasts, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

The clearing of the lands is not directed by chance as in the other provinces. This matter from the first was subjected to laws which are still

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ſtill religiouſly obſerved. No citizen whatever has the liberty of ſettling even upon unoccupied land. The government deſirous of preſerving all its members from the inroads of the ſavages, and of placing them in a condition to ſhare in the protection of a well regulated ſociety, hath ordered that whole villages ſhould be formed at once. As ſoon as ſixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a ſchool-maſter, the general aſſembly allot them a ſituation, and permit them to have two repreſentatives in the legiſlative body of the colony. The diſtrict aſſigned them always borders upon the lands already cleared, and generally contains ſix thouſand ſquare acres. Theſe new people chuſe the ſituation moſt convenient for their habitation, which is uſually of a ſquare figure. The church is placed in the center; the coloniſts divide the land among themſelves, and each incloſes his property with a hedge. Some woods are reſerved for a common. It is thus that New-England is conſtantly enlarging its territory, though it ſtill continues to make one complete and well conſtituted province.

THOUGH the colony is ſituated in the midſt of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not ſo mild as that of ſome European provinces, which are under the ſame parallel. The winters are longer and colder; the ſummers ſhorter and hotter. The ſky is commonly clear and the rains more plentiful than laſting. The air has grown purer ſince its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods;

woods; and malignant vapours, which at firſt carried off ſome of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

THE country is divided into four provinces, which at firſt had no connection with one another. The neceſſity of maintaining an armed force againſt the ſavages obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, when they took the name of the united colonies. In conſequence of this league, two deputies from each eſtabliſhment uſed to meet in a ſtated place to deliberate upon the common affairs of New-England, according to the inſtructions they had received from the aſſembly, by which they were ſent. This aſſociation laid no conſtraint upon the right of every individual to act entirely as he pleaſed, without either the permiſſion or approbation of the mother country. All the ſubmiſſion required of theſe provinces was merely to acknowledge the kings of England for their ſovereigns.

CHARLES the II. wiſhed to make them more dependent. The province of Maſſachuſet's bay, which, though the ſmalleſt, was the richeſt and the moſt populous of the four, being guilty of ſome miſdemeanour againſt government, the king ſeized that opportunity of taking away its charter in 1684; and it remained without one till the revolution; when it received another, which, however, did not anſwer its claims or expectations. The crown reſerved to itſelf the right of nominating the governor, and appointing to all military employ-

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employments, and to all principal posts in the civil and juridical departments: it allowed the people of the colony their legislative power, and gave the governor a negative voice and the command of the troops, which secured him a sufficient influence to enable him to maintain the prerogative of the mother country in all its force. The provinces of Connecticut and Rhode-Island by timely submission prevented the punishment that of Massachuset had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New-Hampshire had been always regulated by the same mode of administration as the province of Massachuset's bay. The same governor presides over the whole colony, but with regulations adapted to the constitution of each province. According to the most exact calculations, the present number of inhabitants in New-England is computed at four hundred thousand, but the southern parts of the colony are better peopled than the northern, where the soil is less fertile. Among such a number of citizens, there are few proprietors wealthy enough to leave the care of their plantations to stewards or farmers: most of them are planters in easy circumstances, who live upon their estates and are employed in the labours of the field. This equality of fortune, joined to the religious principles and to the nature of the government, gives this people a more republican cast than is to be observed in the other colonies.

No

No European fruits have degenerated in New-England; it is even ſaid, that the apple is improved, at leaſt, it has multiplied exceedingly and made cyder a more common drink there than in any other part of the world. All European roots and garden-ſtuff have equally proſpered; but the ſeeds have not thriven quite ſo well. Wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more ſtraw than grain. In default of theſe the maize, which is commonly uſed in making beer, is the drink of the common people. There are large and fruitful meadows, which are covered with numerous flocks.

The arts, though carried to a greater degree of perfection in this colony than in any of the others, have not made near the ſame progreſs as agriculture. There are not more than four or five manufactures of any importance.

The firſt which was formed was that for building ſhips. It maintained for a long time a degree of reputation. The veſſels which came out of this dock were in great eſtimation, the materials of which they were conſtructed, being found much leſs porous, and much leſs apt to ſplit than thoſe of the more ſouthern provinces. Since 1730, the numbers of them are conſiderably diminiſhed, becauſe the woods for ſhip building have been little attended to, and uſed for other purpoſes. To prevent this inconvenience, it was propoſed to forbid the cutting of any of them within ten miles of the ſea, and we know not for what reaſon

this

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this law, the neceſſity of which was ſo evident, was never put in force. The diſtilling of rum has ſucceeded better than the building of ſhips. The opportunity the people of New-England had of importing large quantities of molaſſes from the Caribbee iſlands, gave riſe to this branch of trade. The molaſſes were at firſt uſed in kind for various purpoſes. By degrees they learnt to diſtil them. When made into rum, they ſupplied the neighbouring ſavages with that liquor, as the Newfoundland fiſhermen did the other northern provinces, and ſailors who frequented the coaſt of Africa. The imperfect ſtate of this art in the colony has not diminiſhed the ſale of the ſpirit; becauſe it has always been able to afford it at a very low price.

THE ſame reaſon has both ſupported and increaſed the manufacture of hats. Though this was limited by the regulations of the mother country to the internal conſumption of the colony, the merchants have found means to ſurmount theſe obſtacles, and to ſmuggle pretty large quantities into the neighbouring ſettlements.

THE colony ſells no cloths, but it buys very few. The fleeces of its flocks, which are as long, though not quite ſo fine as the Engliſh ones, make coarſe ſtuffs, which are very convenient for plain men who live in the country.

SOME Preſbyterians who were driven from the north of Ireland by the perſecutions either of the government or of the clergy, firſt taught the people

ple of New-England to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them. The linens made of them are ſince become one of the great reſources of the colony. BOOK XVII.

THE mother country, whoſe political meaſures have not always coincided with the high opinion entertained of her abilities, has omitted nothing to thwart theſe ſeveral manufactures. She did not perceive that by this oppreſſive conduct of the government, thoſe of her ſubjects who were employed in clearing this conſiderable part of the new world, muſt be reduced to the alternative either of abandoning ſo good a country, or procuring from among themſelves the things of general uſe, and of immediate neceſſity. Indeed, even theſe reſources would not have been ſufficient to maintain them, if they had not had the good fortune and the addreſs to open to themſelves ſeveral other channels of ſubſiſtence, the origin and progreſs of which we muſt endeavour to trace.

THE firſt external reſource they met with was in the fiſhery. It has been encouraged to ſuch a degree, that a regulation has taken place, by which every family who ſhall declare that it has lived upon falt-fiſh for two days in the week during a whole year, ſhall be diſburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abſtinence from meat to the proteſtants, in the ſame manner as religion preſcribes it to the catholics.

MACKAREL is caught only in the ſpring at the mouth of the Pentagouet, a conſiderable river which

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which empties itſelf in Fundy bay, towards the extremity of the colony. In the very center of the coaſt, and near Boſton, the cod-fiſh is always in ſuch plenty, that cape Cod, notwithſtanding the ſterility of its ſoil, is one of the moſt populous parts of the country. Not content, however, with the fiſh caught in its own latitude, New England ſends every year about two hundred veſſels, from thirty-five to forty tons each, to the great bank, to Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton, which commonly make three voyages a ſeaſon, and bring back at leaſt a hundred thouſand quintals of cod. Beſides, there are larger veſſels which ſail from the ſame ports, and exchange proviſions for the fiſh caught by the Engliſh who are ſettled in theſe frozen and barren regions. All this cod is afterwards diſtributed in the ſouthern parts of Europe and America.

THIS is not the only article with which the Britiſh iſlands in the new world are ſupplied by New England. It furniſhes them beſides with horſes, oxen, hogs, ſalt meat, butter, tallow, cheeſe, flour, biſcuit, Indian corn, peas, fruits, cyder, hemp, flax, and woods of all kinds. The ſame commodities paſs into the iſlands belonging to the other nations, ſometimes openly, ſometimes clandeſtinely, but always in leſs quantities during peace, than in war time. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent are alſo markets open to New England. This province likewiſe imports wines and brandies from the Madeiras

deiras and the Azores, and pays for them with cod-fiſh and corn. BOOK XVII.

THE ports of Italy, Spain and Portugal receive annually ſixty or ſeventy of their ſhips. They come there laden with cod, wood for ſhip building, naval ſtores, corn and fiſh oil; many of them return with olive-oil, ſalt, wine and money immediately to New England, where they land their cargoes clandeſtinely. By this method, they elude the cuſtoms they would be obliged to pay in Great Britain if they went there, as in purſuance of a poſitive order they ought to do. The ſhips which do not return to the port from whence they firſt ſet out, are ſold in thoſe where they diſpoſe of their cargo. They have frequently no particular deſtination, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaſer.

THE mother country receives from its colony yards and maſts for the royal navy, planks, pot-aſhes, pitch, tar, turpentine, a few furs, and in years of ſcarcity ſome corn. Theſe cargoes come home in ſhips built by her own merchants, or bought by them of perſons who fit out privateers upon ſpeculation.

BESIDES the trade New England carries on with her own productions, ſhe has appropriated to herſelf part of the produce both of North and South America, by undertaking to convey the ſeveral exchanges made between theſe countries. On this account the New Englanders are looked upon as

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the brokers or Hollanders of that part of the world.

NOTWITHSTANDING this lively and continued exertion, New England has never yet been able to diſcharge her debts. She has never been able to pay exactly for what ſhe received from the mother country, either in productions of her own, or of foreign induſtry, or in thoſe from the Eaſt-Indies; all which articles of trade amount annually to 9,000,000 of livres*.

SHE has ſtill, however, trade enough to keep ſix thouſand ſailors in conſtant employment. Her navy conſiſts of five hundred large veſſels, which carry altogether forty thouſand tons burden; beſides a great number of ſmaller veſſels for fiſhing and for the coaſting trade, which ſail out indiſcriminately from the numerous harbours that are open on the coaſt. Almoſt all of them load and unload at Boſton.

BOSTON, the capital of New England is ſituated on a peninſula, about four miles long, at the bottom of the fine bay of Maſſachuſet, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is ſheltered from the impetuoſity of the waves by a number of rocks which riſe above the water, and by twelve ſmall iſlands, the greater parts of which are fruitful and inhabited. Theſe dikes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ſhips to come in together. At the end of the laſt century, a regular citadel, named fort Wil-

* 393,750l.

William, was erected in one of the iſlands upon this narrow channel. It is defended by a hundred pieces of cannon of forty-two pounders each, which are diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that they can rake a ſhip fore and aft before it is poſſible for her to bring her guns to bear. A league further on, is a very high light-houſe, the ſignals from which, in caſe of invaſion, are perceived and repeated by the fortreſs along the whole coaſt, at the ſame time that Boſton has her own light-houſes, which ſpread the alarm to all the inland country. Except when a very thick fog happens to prevail, which ſome ſhips might take advantage of to ſlip into the iſlands, the town has always five or ſix hours to prepare for the reception of an enemy, and to aſſemble ten thouſand militia, which can be raiſed at four and twenty hours notice. If a fleet ſhould ever be able to paſs the artillery of fort William, it would infallibly be ſtopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and ſouth of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the veſſels and commercial ſtores to be ſheltered from cannon ſhot in the river Charles.

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Boston port is ſo large that ſix hundred veſſels may anchor in it ſafely and commodiouſly. There is a magnificent pier conſtructed, projecting ſufficiently into the ſea to allow the ſhips to unload their goods without the aſſiſtance of a lighter, and to depoſit them into the warehouſes which are ranged on the north ſide. At the extremity of the

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pier, the town appears in the form of a crescent round the harbour. According to the bills of mortality, which are properly become the only rule of political arithmetic, it contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, composed of Anabaptists, Quakers, French refugees, English Presbyterians and church of England men. The houses, furniture, dress, food, conversation, customs and manners are so exactly similar to the mode of living in London, that it is impossible to find any other difference but that which arises from the numbers of people there are in large capitals.

New York founded by the Dutch, passes into the hands of the English.

NEW ENGLAND, which resembles the mother country in so many respects, is contiguous to New-York. The latter bounded on the east by this principal colony, and on the west by New-Jersey, occupies at first a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea-shore, and insensibly enlarging, extends to the north above a hundred and fifty miles up the country.

THIS country was discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609. That celebrated navigator, after having made vain attempts under the patronage of the Dutch East-India company to discover a north-west passage, veered about to the southward, and coasted along the continent, in hopes of making some useful discovery that might prove a kind of indemnification to the society for the trust they had reposed in him. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name, and after

recon-

reconnoitering the coaſt and its inhabitants, returned to Amſterdam from whence he ſailed. BOOK XVII.

According to the European ſyſtem, which never pays any atttention to the people of the new world, this country ſhould have belonged to the Dutch. It was diſcovered by a man in their ſervice, who took poſſeſſion of it in their name, and gave up to them any perſonal right he might have in it. His being an Engliſhman did not, in the leaſt invalidate theſe uncontrovertible titles. It muſt therefore, have occaſioned great ſurpriſe, when James the firſt aſſerted his pretenſions to it, upon the principle that Hudſon was born his ſubject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his ſubſiſtence. The king was ſo convinced of this that he ſoon gave up the matter; and the republic ſent ſome perſons in 1610 to lay the foundation of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing proſpered here; and this fortunate beginning ſeemed to promiſe greater ſucceſs, when in 1664 the colony was expoſed to a ſtorm which it could not poſſibly foreſee.

England, which had not at that time thoſe intimate connections with Holland, that the ambition and ſucceſſes of Lewis the XIV. have given birth to ſince, had long ſeen with a jealous eye the proſperity of a ſmall ſtate in its neighbourhood, which, though but juſt formed, was already extending its flouriſhing trade to all parts of the world. She was ſecretly diſturbed at the thoughts

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of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, she ought to have been greatly superior. Her rivals in commerce and navigation by their vigilance and oeconomy, superseded them in all the considerable markets of the universe. Every effort she made to come in competition turned either to her loss or discredit, and she was obliged only to act a secondary part, while all the trade then known was evidently centering itself in the republic. At length, the nation felt the disgrace of her merchants, and resolved that what they could not obtain by industry, should be secured to them by force. Charles the second, notwithstanding his aversion for business, and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly adopted a measure which gave him a prospect of acquiring the riches of these distant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprising than himself, encouraged him in these dispositions, and the deliberation concluded with their ordering the Dutch ships to be attacked without any previous declaration of war.

An English fleet appeared before New Belgia, in the month of August, with three thousand men on board; and so numerous a force precluding every idea, as well as every hope of resistance, the colony submitted as soon as it was summoned. The conquest was secured to the English by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to set

these

theſe two maritime powers at variance, who for their mutual intereſts ought always to be friends. A ſecond treaty reſtored New Belgia to the Engliſh, who have remained in quiet poſſeſſion of it ever ſince under the name of New-York.

It took its name from the duke of York, to whom it was given by the king in 1664. As ſoon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the ſame arbitrary principles which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whoſe hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exerciſe of the public authority, inſtituted themſelves arbitrators in all private diſputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders, who had preferred theſe plantations to their own country, and by coloniſts who had come from New England. Theſe people had been too long accuſtomed to liberty, to ſubmit patiently for any time to ſo arbitrary an adminiſtration. Every thing ſeemed tending either to an inſurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was invited to chuſe repreſentatives to ſettle its form of government. Time produced ſome other changes; but it was not till 1691 that a fixed plan of government was adopted, which has been followed ever ſince.

At the head of the colony is a governor appointed by the crown, which likewiſe appoints twelve councillers, without whoſe concurrence the governor can ſign no act. The commons are repreſented by twenty-ſeven deputies, choſen by the

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inhabitants, and these several bodies constitute the general assembly, in which every power is lodged. The duration of this assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and it now continues seven, like the British parliament, whose revolutions it has followed.

Flourishing state of New York.

Causes of its prosperity.

SUPPORTED by a form of government so solid, so favourable to that liberty which makes every thing prosper, the colony pursued in tranquillity all the labours which its situation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than that of New-England, a soil superior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for that of every other production, soon enabled it to vye successfully with an establishment that had got the start of it in all its productions, and in all the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compensated by a fur trade infinitely more considerable. These means of prosperity united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, have increased its inhabitants to one hundred and fifty thousand, five and twenty thousand of whom are able to bear arms, and constitute the national militia.

THE colony would still have flourished much more had not its prosperity been obstructed by the fanaticism of two governors, the oppressive conduct of some others, and the extravagant grants made to some individuals in too high favour; but these inconveniences, which are only temporary under the English government, have

some

ſome of them ceaſed, and the reſt of them are leſſened. The province may, therefore, expect to ſee her productions doubly increaſed, if the two thirds of its territory, which ſtill remain uncleared, ſhould yield as much as that part which has already been cultivated.

It is impoſſible to foreſee what influence theſe riches may have upon the minds of the inhabitants; but it is certain they have not yet abuſed thoſe they have hitherto acquired. The Dutch, who were the firſt founders of the colony, eſtabliſhed in it that ſpirit of order and oeconomy, which is the characteriſtic of their nation; and as they always conſtituted the majority of the people, even after theſe had changed maſters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new coloniſts brought among them ſince the place had been conquered. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the perſecution which drove them out of the palatinate, or from the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this ſimple and modeſt way of life; and the Engliſh and French, who were not accuſtomed to ſo much frugality, ſoon conformed, either from motives of wiſdom or emulation, to a mode of living leſs expenſive, and more familiar than that which is regulated by faſhion and parade.

What has been the conſequence? That the colony has never run in debt with the mother country; that it has by that means preſerved an entire

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entire liberty in its ſales and purchaſes; and been enabled always to give the moſt advantageous turn to its affairs. Had the repreſentatives carried the ſame principles into their adminiſtration, the province would not have entered precipitately into engagements, the burthen of which it already feels.

THE borders of Hudſon's river are decorated and enlivened by the plantations of the colony. It is upon this magnificent canal, which is navigable day and night, in all ſeaſons, and where the tide runs above a hundred and ſixty miles within the land, that every thing which is intended for the general market is embarked in veſſels of forty or fifty tons burthen. The ſtaple itſelf, which is near the ſea, is extremely well ſituated for receiving all the merchandiſe of the province and all that comes from Long Iſland, which is only ſeparated from the continent by a narrow channel.

THIS iſland, which takes its name from its figure, is one hundred and twenty miles in length and twelve in breadth. It was formerly very famous for the great number of whales and ſea-calves taken in its neighbourhood; but whether the frequent fiſheries have driven away theſe animals, which generally ſeek quiet ſeas and deſert ſhores, it is certain they have diſappeared, and another ſpecies of induſtry has been found to ſupply their loſs. As the paſtures are moſt excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly

larly horſes, has been much attended to, without neglecting any other branch of cultivation. All theſe different riches flow to the principal market, which is alſo increaſed by productions brought from a greater diſtance. Some parts of New England and New Jerſey find their account in pouring their ſtores into this magazine.

THIS mart is a very conſiderable town, which at preſent has the ſame name as the colony, and is called New York. It was formerly built by the Dutch, who gave it the name of New Amſterdam, in an iſland called Manahatton, which is fourteen leagues long and not very broad. In 1756, its inhabitants amounted to 10,468 white men, and 2,275 negroes. There is no town where the air is better, or where there is a more general appearance of eaſe and plenty. Both the public edifices and private houſes convey the idea of ſolidity united to convenience. If the city, however, were attacked with vigour, it would ſcarcely hold out twenty-four hours, the roads and the town having no other defence except a bad fort and a retrenchment of ſtone.

NEW YORK, which ſtands at the diſtance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudſon's river, has, properly ſpeaking, neither port nor baſon, but it does not want either, becauſe its road is ſufficient. Two hundred and fifty or three hundred ſhips are diſpatched from thence every year for the different ports of Europe and America. England receives but a ſmall part of them,

but

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but they are the richeſt, becauſe their cargo conſiſts of furs and beaver ſkins. The manner in which the colony gets poſſeſſion of theſe peltries is now to be explained.

As ſoon as the Dutch had built New Amſterdam in a ſituation which they thought favourable for the intercourſe with Europe, they next endeavoured to eſtabliſh an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in requeſt from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring ſavages offered but few, and thoſe indifferent ones, there was a neceſſity of going to the north to have them better and in larger quantities. In conſequence of this a project was formed for an eſtabliſhment on the banks of Hudſon's river, at 150 miles diſtance from the capital; and the circumſtances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the conſent of the Iroquois, to whom the tertory that was wanted, belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were juſt arrived in Canada. In conſequence of an agreement to ſupply them with the ſame arms that their enemies uſed, they allowed the Dutch to build fort Orange, which was afterwards called fort Albany. There was never the leaſt diſpute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the aſſiſtance of their powder, lead and guns, which they uſed to give in exchange for ſkins, ſecured to themſelves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all the

the five countries, but even the ſpoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions. BOOK XVII.

THOUGH the Engliſh, upon their taking poſſeſſion of the colony, maintained the union with the ſavages, they did not think ſeriouſly of extending the fur trade, till the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obſtacles to their ſucceſs. The French were accuſtomed to procure from Albany coverlids, thick worſted ſtuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammunition; all which they could ſell to the ſavages with the greater advantage as theſe goods bought at Albany coſt them one third leſs than they would have done any other way. Beſides, the American nations, who were ſeparated from New York by the country of the Iroquois, in which no body choſe to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

BURNET, who was governor of the Engliſh colony in 1720, was either the firſt who ſaw the evil, or the firſt who ventured to ſtrike at the root of it. He prevailed with the general aſſembly to forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the conſent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oſwego at his own expence, on that part of the lake Ontario, by which moſt of the ſavages muſt paſs in their way to Montreal. In conſequence of theſe two operations, the beavers and other peltries were

pretty

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pretty equally divided between the French and Engliſh. The acceſſion of Canada cannot but increaſe at preſent the ſhare New York had in the trade, as the latter is better ſituated for it than the country which diſputed it with her.

If the Engliſh colony has gained by the acquiſition of Canada, it does not appear to have loſt any thing by being ſeparated from New Jerſey, which formerly made a part of New Belgia, under the title of New Sweden.

In what manner New Jerſey fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Its preſent ſtate.

The Swedes were, in fact, the firſt Europeans who ſettled in this region, about the year 1639. Neglected by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at ſo great a diſtance, they were obliged, at the end of ſixteen years, to ſurrender to the Dutch, who united this acquiſition to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries, he ſeparated them, and divided the leaſt of them, called New Jerſey, between two of his favourites.

Carteret and Berkley, the firſt of whom had received the eaſtern, and the other the weſtern part of the province, ſollicited this vaſt territory with no other view but to put it up to ſale. Several ſpeculative perſons accordingly bought large diſtricts of them at a low price, which they divided and ſold again in ſmaller parcels. In the midſt of theſe ſubdiviſions, the colony became divided into two diſtinct provinces, each ſeparately governed by the heirs of the original proprietors.

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The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as, indeed, it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and like the greater part of the other English colonies were under the direction of a governor, a council and a general assembly.

New Jersey, situated between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude, is bounded on the east by New York, on the west by Pensylvania, on the north by unknown land, and on the south-east by the ocean, which washes its coasts through an extent of 120 miles. This large country before the last revolution contained only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the descendents of Swedes and Dutch, who were its first cultivators, and who were joined by some Quakers and some church of England men, with a greater number of Presbyterians. The faults of government stopped the progress and occasioned the indigence of this small colony. It might, therefore, have been expected that the æra of liberty should have been that of its prosperity; but almost all the Europeans who went to the new world in search either of an asylum or riches, preferring the milder and more fruitful climates of Carolina and Pensylvania, New Jersey could never recover from its primitive languor. Even at this day, it does not contain above fifty thousand white men, united in villages, or dispersed among the plantations, and twenty thousand blacks.

The

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THE poverty of this province not ſuffering it at firſt to open a direct trade with the diſtant or foreign markets, it began to ſell its productions at Philadelphia, and eſpecially at New York, with which there was an eaſy communication by rivers. It has continued this practice ever ſince, and receives in exchange from the two cities ſome of the productions of the mother country. Far, however, from being able to acquire any articles of luxury, it cannot even afford to purchaſe all the neceſſaries of life; but is obliged itſelf to manufacture the greateſt part of its clothing.

THERE is of courſe very little ſpecie in the colony, which is reduced to make uſe of paper-currency. All its bills together do not amount to more than 1,350,000 livres.* As they are current both in Penſylvania and New York, which do not take any of each others bills, they bear an advanced premium above the bills of theſe two colonies, by being made uſe of in all the payments between them.

BUT ſo trifling an advantage will never give any real importance to New Jerſey. It is from its own boſom, that is, from the culture of its immenſe tract of deſert country, that it is to draw its vigour and proſperity. As long as it ſtands in need of intermediate agents it will never recover from the ſtate of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly ſenſible of, and all its efforts are now directed to

* 59,062l. 10s.

to enable it to act for itself. It has even already made some with success. As far back as the year 1751, it found means to fit out, at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels bound to Europe, or to the southern isles of America. These vessels carried one hundred and sixty-eight thousand quintals of biscuits, six thousand, four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour, seventeen thousand, nine hundred and forty-one bushels of corn, three hundred and fourteen barrels of salt beef and pork, fourteen hundred quintals of hemp; together with a pretty large quantity of hams, butter, beer, linseed, bar iron, and wood for building. It is imagined that this direct trade may have increased one third since that time.

This beginning of prosperity must raise the emulation, the industry, the hopes, the projects, and the enterprises of a colony, which hitherto has not been able to sustain the part in trade, which its situation seemed to promise it. If there are some poor and feeble states that draw their subsistence and support from the vicinity of others more rich and more brilliant than themselves, there are a far greater number whom such a neighbourhood entirely crushes and destroys. Such, perhaps, has been the fate of New Jersey, as will appear from the history we are going to give of Pensylvania, which lying too close to this colony has sometimes concealed it with its shadow, sometimes eclipsed it with its splendour.

End of the Seventeenth Book.

BOOK XVIII.

English colonies founded in Pensylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General reflections on all these settlements.

BOOK XVIII.

The Quakers found Pensylvania. Manners of that sect.

LUTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occasioned a great ferment in the minds of all men; when there arose in the midst of the commotions it excited, a new religion, which at first appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism than like a sect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of innovators in religion follow a regular system composed of doctrines connected with each other, and in the beginning, at least, take arms only to defend themselves. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the bible for the word of command to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system of

of doctrine. It is true, indeed, their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and uſeleſs practice to adminiſter baptiſm to infants, and aſſerted that their opinion upon this point was the ſame as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever reduced to practice this article of belief, which was the only one that furniſhed a pretence for their ſeparation. The ſpirit of ſedition prevented them from paying a proper attention to the ſchiſmatic tenets on which their diviſion was founded. To ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of church and ſtate, was their law and their faith. To enliſt in the armies of the Lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the ſword of Gideon, this was their device, their motive, and their ſignal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and ſword into a great part of Germany, that the anabaptiſts thought at laſt of marking and cementing their confederacy by ſome viſible ſign of union. Having been united at firſt by inſpiration to raiſe a body of troops, in 1525 they were united to compoſe a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted.

In the mixed ſyſtem of intolerance and mildneſs by which they are guided, the anabaptiſt church being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The ſpirit of the Lord blowing whereſover it liſteth, the power of preaching is not limitted to

BOOK XVIII. one order of the faithful, but is diſpenſed to all. Every one likewiſe has the gift of prophecy.

EVERY ſect which has not preſerved a community of all things which conſtituted the life and ſpirit of primitive chriſtianity, has degenerated, and is for that reaſon an impure ſociety.

MAGISTRATES are uſeleſs in a ſociety of the truly faithful. A chriſtian never has occaſion for any; nor is a chriſtian allowed to be one himſelf.

CHRISTIANS are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much leſs is it lawful for them to inliſt as ſoldiers in mercenary armies.

BOTH law-ſuits and oaths are forbidden the diſciples of Chriſt, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

THE baptiſm of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptiſm depends upon the voluntary conſent of the adults, who alone are able to receive it with a conſciouſneſs of the engagement they take upon themſelves.

SUCH was in its origin the religious ſyſtem of the Anabaptiſts. Though it appears founded on charity and mildneſs, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of ſtations is the moſt dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized ſociety. To preach this ſyſtem to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to aſſaſſination and plunder. It is letting domeſtic animals looſe, and transforming them into wild beaſts,

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The rulers of the people muſt be more enlightened, or the laws by which they are governed muſt be ſoftened: but there is in fact no ſuch thing in nature as a real equality; it exiſts only in the ſyſtem of equity. Even the ſavages themſelves are not equal when once they are collected into hords. They are only ſo, while they wander in the woods; and then the man who ſuffers the produce of his chace to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all ſocieties.

A DOCTRINE, the baſis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partiſans any where but among the poor. The peaſants therefore adopted it with the greater enthuſiaſm, in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more inſupportable. The far greater part, eſpecially thoſe who were condemned to ſlavery, roſe up in arms on all ſides, to ſupport a doctrine, which, from being vaſſals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehenſion of ſeeing one of the firſt bands of ſociety, obedience to the magiſtrate, broken, united all other ſects againſt them, who could not ſubſiſt without ſubordination. After having carried on a more obſtinate reſiſtance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their ſect, notwithſtanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was no where prevalent, becauſe it had been every where oppoſed and diſperſed. It

BOOK XVIII. was but juſt tolerated in thoſe countries, in which the greateſt latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any ſtate in which it was able to ſettle a church, authoriſed by the civil power. This of courſe weakened it, and from obſcurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the ſect of quakers.

THIS humane and peaceable ſect aroſe in England amidſt the confuſions of that bloody war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the ſcaffold by his own ſubjects. The founder of it George Fox, was of the lower claſs of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a ſingular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profeſſion. In order to wean himſelf entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amuſement but his bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inſpiration ſimilar to that of the apoſtles and the prophets.

HE then began to think of making proſelytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men were filled and diſturbed with enthuſiaſtic notions. He was, therefore, ſoon followed by a multitude of diſciples, the novelty and ſingularity of whoſe opinions upon incompre-

henſible

henſible ſubjects could not fail of attracting and fascinating all thoſe who were fond of the marvellous. BOOK XVIII.

The firſt thing, by which they caught the eye, was the ſimplicity of their dreſs, in which there was no gold or ſilver lace, no embroidery, laces, or ruffles, and from which they affected to baniſh every thing that was ſuperfluous or unneceſſary. They would not ſuffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in the coat, becauſe it was poſſible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for eſtabliſhed modes reminded thoſe who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the reſt of men, from whom they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this external modeſty.

All outward marks of deference which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from thoſe who are unable to refuſe them, were diſdained by the quakers, who diſclaimed the names of maſter and ſervant. They condemnd all titles as being tokens of pride in thoſe who claimed them, and as meanneſs in thoſe who beſtowed them. They did not allow to any perſon whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and ſo far they might be in the right; but they refuſed to comply with thoſe reciprocal demonſtrations of reſpect which we call politeneſs, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they ſaid, was not to be refuſed by one chriſtian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they conſidered as ridiculous and troubleſome. To pull off the hat they held

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to be a want of reſpect to a man's ſelf, in order to ſhew it to others. They carried this idea ſo far, that even the magiſtrates could not compel them to any external mark of reverence; but they addreſſed both them and princes according to the ancient majeſty of language, in the ſecond perſon and in the ſingular number.

THE auſterity of their morals ennobled the ſingularity of their manners. The uſe of arms, conſidered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity, if to defend one's ſelf, it was breaking through thoſe of chriſtianity. Univerſal peace was the goſpel they had agreed to profeſs. If any one ſmote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately preſented the other; if any one aſked him for his coat, he offered his waiſtcoat too. Nothing could engage theſe equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take leſs than what they demanded. An oath even before a magiſtrate and in ſupport of a juſt cauſe they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched diſputes that ariſe between weak and periſhable beings.

THE contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeneſs in civil life was changed into averſion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the oſtentatious edifices of prieſtcraft, they conſidered the ſabbath as a pernicious and idle inſtitution, and baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper as ridiculous ſymbols.

bols. For this reaſon, they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghoſt, which gave a character far ſuperior to that of the prieſthood. When they were aſſembled together, the firſt perſon who found himſelf inſpired aroſe and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of ſpeech, which they called the gift of prophecy; ſometimes many of theſe holy brethren ſpoke at the ſame time; but much more frequently a profound ſilence prevailed in their aſſemblies.

The enthuſiaſm occaſioned both by their meditations and diſcourſes, excited ſuch a degree of ſenſibility in the nervous ſyſtem, that it threw them into convulſions, for which reaſon they were called quakers. To have cured theſe people in proceſs of time of their folly, nothing more was requiſite than to turn it into ridicule; but inſtead of this perſecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new ſect met with encouragement, this was expoſed to every kind of puniſhment; impriſonments, whippings, pillories, mad houſes, were none of them thought too terrible for bigots, whoſe only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reaſonable over-much. The conſtancy with which they bore their ſufferings, at firſt excited compaſſion and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their moſt violent enemies, becauſe they uſed to inſi-

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insinuate themselves into his camps, and dissuade his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration, but they either eluded his invitations or rejected them, and he afterwards confessed that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

Among the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity, is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men of his profession usually are, had made several considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of these loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country, which though long since discovered and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. A spirit of benevolence made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode

of

of virtue, and the aſylum of the unfortunate. With this generous deſign, towards the end of the year 1681, he ſet ſail for his new poſſeſſions, which from that time took the name of Penſylvania. All the quakers were deſirous to follow him, in order to avoid the perſecution raiſed againſt them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other eccleſiaſtical fees; but from prudential motives he declined taking over any more than than two thouſand. BOOK XVIII.

Upon what principles Penſylvania was founded.

His arrival in the new world was ſignalized by an act of equity which made his perſon and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly ſatisfied with the right given him to his extenſive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the Britiſh miniſtry, he determined to make it his own property by purchaſing it of the natives. The price he gave to the ſavages is not known; but though ſome people accuſe them of ſtupidity for conſenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not leſs entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and juſtice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He made himſelf as much as poſſible a legal poſſeſſor of the territory, and by the uſe he made of it ſupplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an averſion for all thoſe which had been

founded

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founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

PENN's humanity could not be confined to the savages only, it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty and property. The mind dwells with pleasure on this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians depopulating the country before they took possession of it, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the dawnings of reason, happiness and humanity rising from among the ruins of a hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage.

THIS virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every christian eligible to state-employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the supreme being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pensylvania, nor exacted

exacted contributions for building places of public worſhip, nor compelled any perſons to attend them. BOOK XVIII.

DESIROUS of immortalizing his name, he veſted in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits ſhould be annexed to his employment, except ſuch as were voluntarily granted; and that he ſhould have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an intereſt in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors and might be choſen. To avoid as much as poſſible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen by ſuffrages privately given. To eſtabliſh a law, a plurality of voices was ſufficient; but a majority of two thirds was neceſſary to ſettle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a ſubſidy demanded by government; but was it poſſible to grant leſs indulgences to men who were come ſo far in ſearch of peace?

SUCH was the opinion of that real philoſopher Penn. He gave a thouſand acres to all thoſe who could afford to pay 430 livres * for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himſelf, his wife, each of his children above ſixteen years old, and each of his ſervants fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of one ſol, ten deniers and a half † per acre.

To

* 19l. 13s. 6d. † About one penny.

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To fix these properties for ever he established tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make those who are in possession of them purchase the decree of justice that secures them: for in that case every individual is obliged to part with some of his property in order to secure the rest; and law, when protracted, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbad under very strict penalties all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

This attention to prevent law-suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were calculated to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance

brance his original deſtination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body. BOOK XVIII.

Such primary inſtitutions would be neceſſarily productive of an excellent legiſlation; and accordingly the advantages of that eſtabliſhed by Penn, were manifeſted in the rapid and continued proſperity of Penſylvania, which, without either wars, conqueſts, ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon excited the admiration of the whole univerſe. Its neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by the ſweetneſs of its manners, and diſtant nations, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to ſee thoſe heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to conſider as entirely fabulous.

Proſperity of Penſylvania.

Pensylvania is defended on the eaſt by the ocean, on the north by New York and New Jerſey, on the ſouth by Virginia and Maryland, on the weſt by the Indians; on all ſides by friends, and within itſelf by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coaſts, which are at firſt very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The ſky of the colony is pure and ſerene, and the climate naturally very wholeſome, has been rendered ſtill more ſo by cultivation; the waters equally ſalubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or ſand; and the year is tempered by the regular

return

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return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains and a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind; but this relief, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes the inhabitants to hurricanes that blow down whole forests, and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neigbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

THOUGH the country is unequal, it is not on that account less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow and black sand, in others it is gravelly and sometimes it is a greyish ash-colour upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

WHEN the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down

down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every sort of grain, and especially rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabapists, members of the church of England, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans and Catholics.

Among the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, weary of the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat, and by degrees his pious, simple and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

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This little city forms a triangle, the outſides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and theſe ranges of trees are houſes, built of wood, three ſtories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleaſures of his meditations without diſturbance. Theſe contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of ſtagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

The men and women live in ſeparate quarters of the city. They never ſee each other but at places of worſhip, nor are there any aſſemblies of any kind but for public buſineſs. Their life is ſpent in labour, prayer and ſleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine ſervice. Like the Methodiſts and Quakers, every individual among them has the right of preaching when he thinks himſelf inſpired. The favourite ſubjects on which they diſcourſe in their aſſemblies, are humility, temperance, chaſtity, and the other chriſtian virtues. They never violate that day of repoſe, which all orders of men, whether idle or laborious, much delight in. They admit a hell and a paradiſe; but reject the eternity of future puniſhments. They abhor the doctrine of original ſin as an impious blaſphemy, and in general every tenet that

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is ſevere to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only adminiſter baptiſm to the adult. At the ſame time they think baptiſm ſo eſſentially neceſſary to ſalvation, that they imagine the ſouls of chriſtians in another world are employed in converting thoſe who have not died under the law of the goſpel.

STILL more diſintereſted than the Quakers, they never allow themſelves any law-ſuits. One may cheat, rob and abuſe them without ever being expoſed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the ſame effect on them that philoſophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them inſenſible to every kind of inſult.

NOTHING can be plainer than their dreſs. In winter, it is a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, which ſerves inſtead of a hat, a coarſe ſhirt, thick ſhoes, and very wide breeches. The only difference in ſummer, is, that linen is uſed inſtead of woollen. The women are dreſſed much like the men, except that they have no breeches.

THEIR common food conſiſts wholly of vegetables, not becauſe it is unlawful to eat any other, but becauſe that kind of abſtinence is looked upon as more conformable to the ſpirit of chriſtianity which has an averſion for blood. Each individual follows with chearfulneſs the branch of buſineſs allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is depoſited in a common ſtock, in order to ſupply

BOOK XVIII. the neceſſities of every one. This union of induſtry has not only eſtabliſhed agriculture, manufactures, and all the arts neceſſary for the ſupport of this little ſociety, but hath alſo ſupplied for the purpoſes of exchange, ſuperfluities proportioned to the degree of its population.

THOUGH the two ſexes live ſeparate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account fooliſhly renounce matrimony: but thoſe who find themſelves diſpoſed to it leave the city, and form an eſtabliſhment in the country, which is ſupported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treaſury, and their children are ſent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wiſe privilege the Dumplers would be no better than monks, and in proceſs of time would become either ſavages or libertines.

THE moſt edifying, and at the ſame time the moſt extraordinary circumſtance, is the harmony that ſubſiſts between all the ſects eſtabliſhed in Penſylvania, notwithſtanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though not all of the ſame church, they all love and cheriſh one another as children of the ſame father. They have always continued to live like brethren, becauſe they had the liberty of thinking as men. To this delightful harmony muſt be attributed more particularly the rapid progreſs of the colony.

AT the beginning of the year 1766 its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number

number muſt have been conſiderably increaſed ſince that period, having doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr. Franklin's calculations. There were thirty thouſand blacks in the province, who though they met with leſs ill uſage in this province than in the others, were ſtill exceedingly unhappy. A circumſtance, however, not eaſily believed is, that the ſubjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their maſters; their manners are ſtill pure, and even auſtere, in Penſylvania. Is this ſingular advantage to be aſcribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation conſtantly ſubſiſting between the different ſects or to ſome other particular cauſe? Let the reader determine this queſtion.

The Penſylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they ſooner become mothers than in Europe, they ſooner ceaſe breeding. If the heat of the climate ſeems on the one hand to haſten the operations of nature, its inconſtancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the ſky is more uncertain, for it ſometimes changes five or ſix times in the ſame day.

As however theſe varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor deſtroy the harveſts, there is a conſtant plenty, and an univerſal appearance of eaſe. The oeconomy which is ſo particularly attended to in Penſylvania, does not prevent both ſexes from being well cloathed; and their food is ſtill preferable in its kind to their

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cloathing. The families, whoſe circumſtances are the leaſt eaſy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink conſtantly French and Spaniſh wines, punch and even liquors of a higher price. The abuſe of theſe ſtrong drinks is leſs frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

THE pleaſing view of this abundance is never diſturbed by the melancholy appearance of poverty. There are no poor in all Penſylvania. All thoſe whoſe birth or fortune have left them without reſources are ſuitably provided for out of the public treaſury. The ſpirit of benevolence is carried ſtill further, and is extended even to the moſt engaging hoſpitality. A traveller is welcome to ſtop in any place, without the apprehenſions of giving the leaſt uneaſy ſenſation, except that of regret for his departure.

THE happineſs of the colony is not diſturbed by the oppreſſive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres*. Moſt of them, even thoſe that were deſigned to repair the damages of war, were to ceaſe in 1722. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the ſavages, which had occaſioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public

* 12,256l. 2s. 6d.

public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtain from the province: a circumſtance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with.

The Penſylvanians, happy poſſeſſors, and peaceable tenants of a country that uſually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not reſtrained by fear from the propagation of their ſpecies. There is hardly an unmarried perſon to be met with in the country. Marriage is the more happy and the more reverenced for it; the freedom as well as the ſanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties: they chuſe the lawyer and the prieſt rather as witneſſes, than as the means to cement their engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any oppoſition, they go off on horſeback together, the man gets behind his miſtreſs, and in this ſituation they preſent themſelves before the magiſtrate, where the girl declares ſhe has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So ſolemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any perſon a right to give them any moleſtation. In all other caſes, paternal authority is exceſſive. The head of a family, whoſe affairs are involved, is allowed to ſell his children to his creditors; a puniſhment one ſhould imagine very ſufficient to induce an affectionate father to attend to his affairs. An adult diſcharges in one year's ſervice a debt of 120 livres, 10 ſols*; children under twelve years of age

* 4l. 18s. 8d. $\frac{1}{4}$.

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THOUGH there are ſeveral villages, and even ſome cities in the colony, moſt of the inhabitants may be ſaid to live ſeparately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his houſe in the midſt of a large plantation entirely ſurrounded with quickſet hedges. Of courſe each pariſh is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This diſtance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and ſtill leſs influence. Children are not baptiſed till a few months, and ſometimes not till a year or two after their birth.

ALL the pomp of religion ſeems to be reſerved for the laſt honours man receives before he is ſhut up in the grave for ever. As ſoon as any perſon is dead in the country, the neareſt neighbours have notice given them of the day of the burial. Theſe ſpread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a diſtance. Every family ſends at leaſt one perſon to attend the funeral. As they come in they are preſented with punch and cake. When the aſſembly is complete, the corpſe is carried to the burying ground belonging to his ſect, or if that ſhould be at too great a diſtance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred perſons on horſe-

* 5l. 18s. 1d. ½.

horſeback, who obſerve a continual ſilence, and have all the external appearance ſuitable to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One ſingular circumſtance is, that the Penſylvanians who are the greateſt enemies to parade during their lives, ſeem to forget this character of modeſty at their deaths. They are all deſirous that the poor remains of their ſhort lives ſhould be attended with a funeral pomp proportioned to their rank or fortune.

It is a general obſervation that plain and virtuous people, even thoſe that are ſavage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reaſon is, that they look upon theſe laſt honours as duties of the ſurvivors, and the duties themſelves as ſo many diſtinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very ſtrong in private families while they are in a ſtate neareſt to that of nature. It is not the dying man himſelf who exacts theſe honours; his parents, his wife, his children voluntarily pay them to the aſhes of a huſband and father that has deſerved to be lamented. Theſe ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in ſmall ſocieties than in larger ones, becauſe though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much ſtronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reaſon why ſo many ſmall nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes

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BOOK XVIII. and the Perſians out of Greece, and it will ſome time or other expel the French from Corſica.

But from whence does Penſylvania get the articles neceſſary for her own conſumption, and in what manner does ſhe contrive to be abundantly furniſhed with them? With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton ſhe procures from South America, ſhe fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe ſhe manufactures many coarſe cloaths. Whatever her own induſtry is not able to furniſh, ſhe purchaſes with the produce of her territory. Her ſhips carry over to the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Daniſh iſlands, biſcuit, flour, butter, cheeſe, tallow, vegetables, fruits, ſalt meat, cyder, beer, and all ſorts of wood for building. The cotton, ſugar, coffee, brandy and money received in exchange, are ſo many materials for a freſh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Penſylvania, which they purchaſe with wine and piaſtres. The mother country receives from Penſylvania iron, flax, leather, furs, linſeed oil, maſts and yards, for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Iriſh and India linens, hardware, and other articles of luxury or neceſſity. But as England ſells a greater quantity of merchandiſe to the colony than ſhe purchaſes from it, ſhe may be conſidered

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as a gulph in which, all the ſpecie Penſylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world, is loſt. In 1723, England ſent over goods to Penſylvania only to the value of 250,000 livres *; at preſent ſhe furniſhes to the amount of 10,000,000 †. It is impoſſible that the coloniſts ſhould pay ſo conſiderable a ſum, even though they ſhould deprive themſelves of all the gold they receive from other markets; nor will they ever be able to do this, while the clearing of their lands requires greater expences than the produce will enable them to anſwer. Our colonies which enjoy almoſt excluſively ſome branches of trade, ſuch as rice, tobacco, and indigo, muſt have grown rich very rapidly. Penſylvania whoſe riches are founded on agriculture and the increaſe of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her proſperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent baſis.

If any circumſtance can retard the progreſs of the colony, it muſt be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiſcriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid fifty crowns ‡ for each hundred acres, and that the purchaſers agree to give an unnual rent of about one ſol §. The conſequence of this is, that the province wants that ſort of connection which is ſo neceſſary in all eſtabliſhments, and that the ſcattered

* 10,937l. 10s. † 437,500l. ‡ 6l. 11s. 3d.
§ About one halfpenny.

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tered inhabitants eaſily become the prey of the moſt inſignificant enemy that ventures to attack them.

THERE are different ways of clearing the lands which are followed in the colony. Sometimes a huntſman will ſettle in the midſt of a foreſt, or quite cloſe to it. His neareſt neighbours aſſiſt him in cutting down trees, and placing them one above another: and this conſtitutes a houſe. Around this ſpot he cultivates, without any aſſiſtance, a garden or a field, ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family.

A few years after the firſt labours are finiſhed, ſome more active or richer men arrive from the mother country. They indemnify the huntſman for his labour, and agree with the proprietors of the provinces for ſome lands that have not yet been paid for. They build more commodious habitations, and clear a greater extent of territory.

AT length ſome Germans, who come into the new world from inclination, or are driven into it by perſecution, complete theſe ſettlements that are as yet unfiniſhed. The firſt and ſecond order of planters remove into other parts, with a more conſiderable ſtock for carrying on agriculture than they had at firſt.

THE annual exports of Penſylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ſhips, and fits out about an equal number. They all

all in general come into Philadelphia, which is the capital, from whence they are alſo diſpatched. BOOK XVIII.

THIS famous city, whoſe very name recalls every humane feeling, is ſituated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the ſea. Penn, who deſtined it for the metropolis of a great empire, deſigned it to be one mile in breadth and two in length between the rivers, but its population has proved inſufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto the banks of the Delaware are only built upon; but without giving up the ideas of the legiſlator, or deviating from his plan. Theſe precautions are highly proper. Philadelphia muſt become the moſt conſiderable city of America, becauſe the colony muſt neceſſarily improve greatly, and its productions muſt paſs through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the ſea.

THE ſtreets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal ones are a hundred. On each ſide of them there are foot-paths defended by poſts, placed at different diſtances. The houſes, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two ſtories high, and are built either of brick, or of a kind of ſoft ſtone, which grows hard by being expoſed to the air. Till very lately the walls had but little thickneſs, becauſe they were only intended to ſupport a covering of a very light kind of wood. Since the diſcovery of ſlate quarries, the walls have acquired a ſolidity proportioned to the weight

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of the new roofs. The preſent buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this, tables, chimney-pieces, and other houſhold furniture are made; beſides which it is become a pretty conſiderable article of commerce with the greateſt part of America.

THESE valuable materials could not have been found in common in the houſes, unleſs they had been laviſhed in the churches. Every ſect has its own church, and ſome of them have ſeveral. But there are a pretty conſiderable number of citizens, who have neither churches, prieſts, nor any public form of worſhip, and who are ſtill happy, humane and virtuous.

THE town-houſe is a building held in as much veneration, though not ſo much frequented as the churches. It is conſtructed with the greateſt magnificence. There the legiſlators of the colony aſſemble every year, and more frequently if neceſſary, to ſettle every thing relative to public buſineſs. All matters debated in this aſſembly are ſubmitted to the authority of the nation, and are diſcuſſed by its repreſentatives. Next to the town houſe is a moſt elegant library, formed in 1742 under the care of the learned Dr. Franklin, and conſiſting of the beſt Engliſh, French and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. The founders have free acceſs to it the whole year. Others pay a trifle for the loan of the

the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned at a ſtated time. This little fund, which is conſtantly accumulating, is appropriated to the increaſe of the library, to which have been lately added, in order to make it more uſeful, ſome mathematical and philoſophical inſtruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural hiſtory.

THE college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the ſciences, was founded in 1749. At firſt, it only initiated the youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764, a claſs of medicine was eſtabliſhed there. Knowledge of every kind, and maſters in every ſcience will increaſe, in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, ſhall yield a greater produce. If ever deſpotiſm, ſuperſtition or war ſhould plunge Europe again into that ſtate of barbariſm out of which philoſophy and the arts have extricated it, the ſacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world.

THIS city is amply ſupplied with every aſſiſtance human nature can require, and with all the reſources induſtry can make uſe of. Its keys, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, preſent a ſuite of convenient warehouſes and docks ingeniouſly contrived for ſhip-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in times of froſt. There is taken on board the merchandiſe which has either been brought by the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, or car-

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carried along better roads than are to be met with in moſt parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progreſs in this part of the new world, than among the moſt ancient nations of the old.

It is impoſſible to determine preciſely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactneſs, and there are ſeveral ſects who do not chriſten their children. It appears a fact, however, that in 1766 it contained 20,000 inhabitants. As moſt of them are employed in the ſale of the productions of the colony, and in ſupplying it with what they draw from abroad, their fortunes muſt neceſſarily be very conſiderable; and they muſt increaſe ſtill further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where not above one ſixth of the land has hitherto been cleared.

Philadelphia, as well as Newcaſtle and the other cities of Penſylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a neceſſary conſequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the inhabitants of the colony. Theſe ſectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modeſty, probity, love of labour and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuſe their legiſlation of imprudence and temerity.

It may, perhaps, be ſaid, that when the founders of the colony eſtabliſhed that civil ſecurity which

which protects one citizen from another, they should also have established that political security, which protects one state from the encroachments of another. The authority which hath been exerted to maintain peace and good order at home, seems to have done nothing if it has not prevented invasion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have any enemies, was to suppose the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and submitting the whole country to the oppressive yoke of the first tyrant who should think proper to subdue it.

But on the other hand, how shall we reconcile the strictness of the gospel maxims by which the Quakers are literally governed, with those military preparations either offensive or defensive, which maintain a continual state of war between all christian nations. Besides, what could the French or Spaniards do if they were to enter Pensylvania sword in hand? Unless they massacred in the space of a night or a day's time all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able totally to extirpate the race of those mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very excess; it is consumed and extinguished, as the fire in the ashes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and by the spirit of benevolence, is revived as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. The ambitious stand in need of numbers to execute their sanguinary projects. But the

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Quaker, who is a good man, wants only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give assistance. Let then the warlike nations, let people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pensylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if these inhabitants are tormented, restrained or oppressed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their warehouses empty. They will cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world, and perish in their progress, rather than turn their arms against their pursuers, or submit to bear the yoke. Their enemies will have only gained the hatred of mankind, and the execration of posterity.

It is upon this view of things and on this foresight, that the Pensylvanians found the opinion of their future security. At present they have nothing to fear from the country that lies behind them, since the French have lost Canada; and the flanks of the colony are sufficiently defended by the English settlements. Besides, as they do not perceive that the most warlike states are the most permanent; that mistrust, which is ever upon its guard, makes men rest with greater tranquillity; or that there can be any satisfaction in the possession of any thing that is kept with such apprehensions; they enjoy the present moment, without any concern for the future. Perhaps too, they may think themselves secured

cured by those very precautions that are taken in the colonies that surround them. One of the barriers or bulwarks that preserves Pensylvania from a maritime invasion to which it is exposed, is Virginia. BOOK XVIII.

Wretched state of Virginia at its first settlement.

VIRGINIA, which was intended to denote all that extensive space which the English proposed to occupy in the continent of North-America, is at present confined within much narrower limits. It now comprehends only that country, which is bounded to the north by Maryland; to the south by Carolina; to the west by the Apalachian mountains, and to the east by the ocean. This tract is two hundred and forty miles in length, and two hundred in breadth.

THE English landed at Virginia in 1606; and their first settlement was James-Town. Unfortunately, the object that first presented itself to them was a rivulet, which, issuing from a sand-bank, carried along with it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and silver mines were the only objects of mens researches, this despicable substance was immediately taken for silver. The first and only employment of the new colonists was to collect it; and the illusion was carried so far, that two ships which arrived there with necessaries were sent home so fully freighted with these imaginary riches, that there scarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the infatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to em-

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ploy themſelvs in clearing the lands; ſo that a dreadful famine was at laſt the conſequence of this fooliſh pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred that came from Europe. Theſe few, having only a fortnight's proviſion left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when lord Delaware arrived there with three ſhips, a freſh colony and ſupplies of all kinds.

HISTORY has deſcribed this nobleman to us as a man whoſe genius raiſed him above the common prejudices of the times. His diſintereſtedneſs was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was ſtill in its infancy, he had no motive but to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity, which is the ſecond reward of that generoſity that devotes itſelf totally to the ſervice of the public. As ſoon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him univerſal reſpect. He firſt endeavoured to reconcile the wretched coloniſts to their fatal country, to comfort them in their ſufferings, to make them hope for a ſpeedy concluſion of them. After this, joining the firmneſs of an enlightened magiſtrate to the tenderneſs of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an uſeful end. Unfortunately for the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health ſoon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never loſt ſight of his favourite coloniſts, nor ever failed to make uſe of all his credit and intereſt at court to ſupport them.

The

The colony, however, made but little progreſs, a circumſtance that was attributed to the oppreſſion of excluſive privileges. The company which exerciſed them was diſſolved upon Charles the firſt's acceſſion to the throne, and from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2 livres, 5 ſols* upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this time the coloniſts had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himſelf in the place he liked beſt, without conſulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were aſcertained, and thoſe who had been ſo long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The eſtabliſhment of this firſt law of ſociety changed the appearance of ever thing. New buildings aroſe on every ſide, and were ſurrounded by freſh plantations. This activity drew great numbers of enterpriſing men over to Virginia, who came either in ſearch of fortune, or of liberty, which is the only compenſation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the conſtitution of England added to theſe a multitude of Royaliſts, who went there with a reſolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was alſo attached to king Charles, the fate of that deſerted monarch. Berkley ſtill continued to protect them,

* About 2s.

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even after the king's death; but ſome of the inhabitants either brought over or bribed, and ſupported by the appearance of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the ſtream againſt his will, he was, at leaſt, among thoſe whom Charles had honoured with poſts of confidence and rank, the laſt who ſubmitted to Cromwell, and the firſt who ſhook off his yoke. This brave man was ſinking under the oppreſſion of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his ſucceſſor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to theſe flattering ſollicitations, he declared that he never would ſerve any but the legitimate heirs of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the reſtoration of the royal family, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, that Charles the ſecond was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

THE colony did not, however, receive all the benefit from ſuch a ſtep that might naturally have been expected from it. While the court, on one hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbitant privileges, which abſorbed the property of ſeveral obſcure coloniſts; the parliament, on the other, laid exceſſive taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppreſſion ſtopped all the reſources and diſpelled all the hopes of the colony; and to complete its misfortunes

fortunes, the ſavages, who had never been ſufficiently attended to, took that opportunity to renew their incurſions with a ſpirit and uniformity of deſign that had never been yet known.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to deſpair. Berkley, who had ſo long been their idol, was accuſed of wanting fortitude to reſiſt the oppreſſions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the ſavages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence and intrepidity, of an inſinuating diſpoſition, and an agreeable perſon. They choſe him for their general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military ſucceſſes might have juſtified this prepoſſeſſion of the licentious multitude, yet this circumſtance did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A ſentence ſo ſevere, and which was ill-timed, determined Bacon to aſſume a power by force which he had exerciſed peaceably and without oppoſition for ſix months. His death put a ſtop to all his projects. The malecontents, diſunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to ſue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad conſequences. Mercy inſured obedience; and ſince this remarkable criſis the hiſtory of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.

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Government of Virginia.

THIS great eſtabliſhment was governed at the firſt by perſons placed at the head of it by the company. Virginia afterwards engaged the attention of the mother country, which in 1620 gave it a regular form of government, compoſed of a chief, a council and deputies from each county; to whoſe united care the intereſts of the province were committed. At firſt, the council and repreſentatives of the people uſed to meet in the ſame room, as they do in Scotland. But in 1689, they divided, and had each their ſeparate chamber, in imitation of the parliament of England. This cuſtom has been continued ever ſince.

THE governor, who is always appointed by the king, and for an unlimited period, has the ſole diſpoſal of the regular troops, the militia and of all military employments, as well as the power of approving or rejecting whatever laws are propoſed by the general aſſembly. Beſides this, with the concurrence of the council, to which he leaves very little power in other matters, he may either prorogue or entirely diſſolve this kind of parliament: he chuſes all the magiſtrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner ſuitable to the eaſtabliſhed forms, and diſpoſes of the public treaſure. So many prerogatives, which lead to uſurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: they frequently open the door to oppreſſion.

THE

THE council is compoſed of 12 members, created either by letters patent, or by particular order from the king. When there happen to be leſs than nine in the country, the governor chuſes three out of the principal inhabitants to complete the number. They form a kind of upper houſe, and are at the ſame time to aſſiſt the adminiſtration, and to counter-act tyranny. They have alſo the power of rejecting all acts paſſed in the lower houſe. The ſalaries of the whole body amount to no more than 7,875 livres.*

VIRGINIA is divided into 25 counties, each of which ſends two deputies. James-town, and the college have each of them ſeparately the right of naming one; ſo that they amount in all to 52. Every inhabitant poſſeſſed of a freehold, except only women and minors, has the right of electing, and being elected. Though there is no time fixed by law for holding the general aſſembly, it commonly meets either once a year, or once in every two years; and the meeting is very ſeldom deferred till three. The advantage ariſing from meeting ſo frequently is ſecured by the precaution of granting ſupplies only for a ſhort time. All acts paſſed in the two houſes muſt be ſent over to the ſovereign for his ſanction; but till that is received they are always in force, when they have been approved by the governor.

THE public revenues of Virginia are collected from different ſources, and appropriated in different

* 384l. 10s. 10d. ½.

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ferent manners. The tax of 2 livres, 5 ſols *, upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 16 livres, 17 ſols, and 6 deniers † per ton, which every veſſel, laden or unladen, is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage, that of 11 livres, 5 ſols ‡ a head exacted from all paſſengers, ſlaves as well as freemen, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and perſonal eſtates of thoſe who leave no legitimate heir; theſe different articles, which together amount to 70,000 livres §, are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general aſſembly has no further concern in this buſineſs than to audit the accounts.

THIS aſſembly, however, has reſerved to itſelf the ſole diſpoſition of the funds raiſed for extraordinary ſervices. Theſe ariſe from a duty of entrance upon ſtrong liquors, from one of 22 livres, 10 ſols ‖ upon every ſlave, and one of 16 livres, 17 ſols **, upon every ſervant, not an Engliſhman, that enters the colony. A revenue of this nature muſt be extremely variable, but in general it is pretty conſiderable, and has been uſually well adminiſtered.

BESIDES theſe taxes, which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. Theſe are a ſort of a triple

* 1s. 11d. ½. † 14s. 9d. ‡ 9s. 10d.
§ 3,062l. 10s. ‖ 19s. 8d. ¼. ** About 14s. 9d.

a triple poll tax on the article of tobacco, which the white women only are exempted from. The first is raised by order of the general assembly, for the purpose of paying the expences of its meeting, for that of the militia, and for some other national exigencies. The second, which is called provincial, is imposed by the justices of the peace in each county for its particular uses. The third is parochial, raised by the chief persons of the community, upon every thing that has more or less connection with the established form of worship.

Justice was at first administered with that kind of disinterestedness, which was itself the security for the equity observed in it. One single court had the cognizance of all causes, and used to decide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal to the general assembly, which was not less expeditious in terminating them. So laudable a system did not continue long. In 1692 all the statutes and formalities of the mother country were adopted, and all the chicanery of it was introduced along with them. Since that time every county has its distinct tribunal composed of a sheriff, his under-officers and juries. From these courts all causes are carried to the council, where the governor presides; who has the power of determining finally in all litigations where the property in question does not exceed 6,750 livres *. If the sums contended for are more considerable, the contest may be referred to the king. In all criminal

* About 295l.

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criminal matters, the council pronounces without appeal, not that the life of a citizen is of leſs conſequence than his property, but becauſe the application of the law is much eaſier in criminal, than in civil cauſes. The governor has the right of pardoning in all caſes but thoſe of wilful murder and high treaſon, and even in theſe he may ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence, till he knows the king's pleaſure.

With reſpect to religion, the inhabitants at firſt profeſſed that of the church of England. In 1642 the general aſſembly even paſſed a decree, which indirectly excluded all thoſe who were not of this communion from the province. The neceſſity of peopling the country ſoon occaſioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchical than of a religious nature. A toleration granted ſo late, and evidently with reluctance, produced no material effect. Only five non-conformiſt churches were added to the colony, one of which conſiſted of Preſbyterians, three of Quakers, and one of French refugees.

The mother church has 39 pariſhes. Every pariſh chuſes its miniſter, who muſt, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes poſſeſſion. In ſome pariſhes he is paid in land, and furniſhed with all the neceſſary inſtruments for cultivating it; in others, his ſalary is 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Beſides this he receives either 5 livres, 12 ſols, 6 deniers *, or fifty pounds of tobacco

* About 4s. 11d.

tobacco for every marriage; and 45 livres *, or four hundred pounds of tobacco for every funeral sermon, which he is obliged to make over the grave of every free man. With all these advantages, most of the clergy are not contented, because they may be deprived of their benefices by those who conferred them. BOOK XVIII.

At first the colony was inhabited only by men; soon after they grew desirous of sharing the sweets of their situation with female companions. They gave at first 2,250 livres † for every young person that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of their prudence and virtue. When the salubrity and fertility of the climate were ascertained, whole families, and even some of respectable condition, went over to settle in Virginia. In time they increased to such a degree, that so early as the year 1703 there were 66,606 white people in the colony. If since that time they have not increased above a sixth, it must be attributed to a pretty considerable emigration occasioned by the arrival of the blacks.

These slaves were first brought into Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1621. Their number was not considerable at first, but the increase of this inhuman traffic has been so considerable since the beginning of this century, that there are at present 110,000 negroes in the colony; which occasions a double loss to mankind, first by exhausting the popula-

* 1l. 19s. 4d. ½. † 98l. 8s. 9d.

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population of Africa, and ſecondly by preventing that of the Europeans in America.

VIRGINIA has neither fortified places nor regular troops: they would be uſeleſs in a province, which from its ſituation and the nature of its productions, is protected both from foreign invaſions, and the incurſions of the ſavages wandering about this vaſt continent, who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is compoſed of all the free-men from ſixteen to ſixty years of age, is ſufficient to keep the ſlaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the ſeparate companies three or four times a year. Upon the leaſt alarm given in any particular part of the country, all the forces in it march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not, it is reckoned a part of their ſtated ſervice. Such is the government of Virginia, and ſuch is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was ſeparated from it for reaſons which muſt be explained.

Maryland is detached from Virginia.

CHARLES the firſt, far from having any averſion for the catholics, had ſome reaſon to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had ſhewn for his intereſt. But when the accuſation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whoſe chief aim was to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government, he was obliged to give the catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted againſt them by Henry the eighth. Theſe circumſtances

cumſtances induced lord Baltimore to ſeek an aſylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conſcience. As he found there no toleration for an excluſive ſyſtem of faith, which was itſelf intolerant, he formed the deſign of a new ſettlement in that uninhabited part of the country, which lay between the river of Potowmack and Penſylvania. His death, which happened ſoon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a ſtop to the project for that time, but it was reſumed from the ſame religious motives by his ſon. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman catholics, moſt of them of good families. The education they had received, the cauſe of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promiſed them, prevented thoſe diſturbances which are but too common in infant ſettlements. The neighbouring ſavages, won by mildneſs and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerneſs to aſſiſt the new coloniſts in forming their ſettlement. With this unexpected help theſe fortunate perſons, attached to each other by the ſame principles of religion, and directed by the prudent councils of their chief, applied themſelves unanimouſly to every kind of uſeful labour: the view of the peace and happineſs they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either perſecuted for the ſame religion, or for different opinions.

The

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THE catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themſelves had been the victims after having firſt ſet the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all ſects of what religious principles ſoever. Baltimore alſo granted the moſt extenſive civil liberty to every ſtranger who choſe to purchaſe lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

THESE wiſe precautions, however, did not ſecure the governor, at the time of the ſubverſion of the monarchy, from loſing all the rights and conceſſions that he had obtained. Deprived of his poſſeſſions by Cromwell, he was reſtored to them by Charles the ſecond; after which they were again diſputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-adminiſtration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the intereſts of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the juriſdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himſelf had peopled. This prince, whoſe misfortune it had always been not to diſtinguiſh his friends from his foes; and who had alſo the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was ſufficient to juſtify every act of violence, was preparing

paring a second time to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himself removed from the throne, which he was so unfit to fill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority, which, however, they also recovered upon becoming members of the church of England. BOOK XVIII.

The province is at present divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the proprietor, and by a council and two deputies chosen in each county. The governor, like the king in the other colonies, has a negative voice in all acts proposed by the assembly, that is to say, the right of rejecting them.

If Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, no difference could be found between the two settlements. They are situated between Pensylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure and subtle, as you approach the mountains. The spring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature, in summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter some extremely cold; Virginia and Maryland cultivate the same productions.

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cold; but neither of these excesses lasts above a week at a time. The most disagreeable circumstance in the climate is the abundance of nauseous insects that are found there.

All the domestic animals multiply prodigiously; and all sorts of fruits, trees and vegetables succeed there extremely well. It produces the best corn in all America. The soil, which is rich, and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even in those places where it becomes sandy; more irregular than it is described by some travellers, but tolerably level till you come near the mountains.

From these mountains an incredible number of rivers flow, most of which are separated only by an interval of five or six miles. Besides the fertility which these waters impart to the country they pass through, they also make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the new world, by facilitating the communications.

Most of these rivers afford a very extensive inland navigation for merchant ships, and some of them for men of war. One may go near two hundred miles up the Potowmack, above eighty up the James, the York, and the Rapahannock, and upon the other rivers to a distance that varies according as the cataracts are more or less distant from their mouths. All these navigable canals, formed by nature, met in the bay of Chesapeak, which has from seven to nine fathom water both at its

its entrance and in its whole extent. It reaches above two hundred miles into the country, and is about twelve miles in its mean breadth. Though it is full of ſmall iſlands, moſt of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous, and ſo large that all the ſhips in the univerſe might ride there with eaſe.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large towns in the two colonies, and accordingly the inhabitants who were certain that the ſhips would come up to their warehouſes, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own houſes, have diſperſed themſelves upon the borders of the ſeveral rivers. In this ſituation, they found all the pleaſures of a rural life, united to all the affluence that is brought into cities by trade; they found the facility of extending cultivation in a country that had no bounds, together with every aſſiſtance which the fertilization of the lands receive from commerce. But the mother country ſuffered a double inconvenience from this diſperſion of the coloniſts; firſt, becauſe her ſailors, being obliged to collect their cargoes from theſe ſcattered habitations were longer abſent; and ſecondly, becauſe their ſhips were expoſed to injury from thoſe dangerous inſects, which in the months of June and July infeſt all the rivers of this diſtant region. The miniſtry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the coloniſts to eſtabliſh ſtaples for the reception of their commodities. The conſtraint

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of the laws has not had more effect than perſuaſion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the entrance of every river, to protect the loading and unloading of the ſhips. If this project had not failed in the execution from the want of a ſufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have gathered together by degrees in the vicinity of theſe fortreſſes. But it may ſtill be a queſtion whether this circumſtance would not have proved fatal to population; and whether agriculture might not have loſt as much as commerce would have gained by it.

Be this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at preſent of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even thoſe which are the ſeat of government are of no great importance. Williamſburg, the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the firſt riſen upon the ruins of James town, the other upon thoſe of St. Mary, are neither of them ſuperior to one of our common villages.

As in all human affairs, every good is attended with ſome kind of evil, ſo it has happened that the multiplicity of habitations at the ſame time that it prevented the cities from becoming populous, has alſo prevented any artiſts or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials neceſſary to ſupply them with moſt of their wants, and even with ſeveral of their conveniences, they are ſtill obliged to import from

Europe

Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the moſt ordinary kind. BOOK XVIII.

THESE numerous and general expences have exhauſted the inhabitants; beſides which they have vied with each other in diſplaying every kind of luxury before all the Engliſh merchants, who viſit their plantations from motives of commercial intereſt. By theſe means, they have run ſo much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to ſell their lands; or, in order ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of them, to mortgage them at an uſurious intereſt of eight or nine per cent.

IT will be no eaſy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this deſperate ſtate. Their ſhipping does not amount to above a thouſand tons, and all the corn, cattle and planks they ſend to the Caribbee iſlands; all hemp, flax, leather, peltry and walnut-tree or cedar-wood they ſhip for Europe does not bring them a return of more than a million of livres*. The only reſource they have left is tobacco.

TOBACCO is a ſharp cauſtic, and even poiſonous plant, which has been formerly of great repute, and is ſtill uſed in medicine. Every one is acquainted with the general conſumption of it, by chewing, ſmoaking, or taking ſnuff. It was diſcovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it firſt in the Jucatan, a large peninſula in the gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried

* 43,750l.

BOOK XVIII. into the neighbouring iſlands. Soon after, the uſe of it became a matter of diſpute among the learned, which the ignorant alſo took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired ſome reputation. By degrees faſhion and cuſtom have greatly extended its conſumption in all parts of the known world. It is at preſent cultivated with more or leſs ſucceſs in Europe, Aſia, Africa, and ſeveral parts of America.

THE ſtem of this plant is ſtraight, hairy and viſcous; its leaves thick, flabby, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the ſummit of the plant. It requires a binding ſoil, but rich, even and deep, and not too much expoſed to inundations. A virgin ſoil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of moiſture.

THE ſeeds of the tobacco are ſown upon beds. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got, at leaſt, half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and tranſplanted with great care into a well-prepared ſoil, where the plants are placed at the diſtance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with theſe precautions, their leaves do not ſuffer the leaſt injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

THE cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it muſt be plucked up; the head of it muſt be cut off when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to pre-

prevent it from growing too high; it muſt be ſtripped of all ſprouting ſuckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the ſtem, thoſe that are in the leaſt inclined to decay, and thoſe which the inſects have touched, muſt all be picked off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at moſt. One induſtrious man is able to take care of two thouſand five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thouſand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleaſant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are alſo curved, the ſcent of them grows ſtronger, and extends to a greater diſtance. The plant is then ripe and muſt be cut.

THE plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ſame ground that produced them, where they are left to exſude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouſes conſtructed in ſuch a manner, that the air may have free acceſs to them on all ſides. Here they are left ſeparately ſuſpended as long a time as is neceſſary to dry them properly. They are then ſpread upon hurdles and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At laſt they are ſtripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different taſtes of the ſeveral nations that uſe it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

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Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has anſwered ſo well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the firſt planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a ſale for. They were then obliged to ſtop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But in proceſs of time the uſe of this herb became ſo general that they have been obliged to increaſe the number both of the whites and blacks who were employed in preparing it. At preſent each of the provinces furniſhes nearly an equal quantity. That of Virginia, which is the mildeſt, the moſt perfumed and the deareſt; is conſumed in England and in the ſouthern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates on account of its cheapneſs, and even its coarſeneſs, which makes it adapted to leſs delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the ſame progreſs in theſe provinces, as in the reſt of North-America, the tobacco is commonly tranſported in the ſhips of the mother country. They are very often three, four, and even ſix months in completing their cargo. This delay ariſes from ſeveral very evident cauſes. Firſt, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is neceſſary to procure it from the ſeveral plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ſhip if they would, and if they were, they would

would not chuſe to venture their whole capital upon one bottom. In ſhort, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the ſame, whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are preſſed by the captains themſelves to haſten the exportation. For theſe reaſons veſſels only of a moderate ſize are generally employed upon this ſervice. The larger they are, the longer time they would be detained in America.

VIRGINIA always pays forty-five livres * freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 39 livres, 5 ſols, 6 deniers †. This difference is owing to the leſs value of the merchandiſe, and to the great expedition made in loading it. The Engliſh merchant loſes by the carriage, but he finds his account in the commiſſions. As he is always employed in all the ſales and purchaſes made for the coloniſts, he is amply compenſated for his loſſes and his trouble, by an allowance of five per cent. upon theſe commiſſions.

THIS trade employs two hundred and fifty ſhips, which make up in all 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thouſand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight hundred pounds a barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity that grows between York and James rivers, and in ſome other places is extremely dear; but the whole taken upon an average ſells only for four ſols three deniers ‡ a pound in England, which makes in all 16,125,000 livres.

* 1l. 19s. 4d. ½. † N. 14s 5d. ½. ‡ Not 2d. ¼.

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livres *. Beſides the advantage England experiences in exchanging its manufactures to the amount of this ſum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 10,125,000 livres †, beſides what is to be reckoned for freight and commiſſion.

THE cuſtom-houſe duties are ſtill a more conſiderable object to government. There is a tax of 11 ſols, 10 deniers and a half ‡ upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom; this ſuppoſing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the ſtate 47,499,997 livres, 10 ſols §; but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 19,000,000 livres, 2 ſols, 7 deniers ‖. Experience teaches that a third of this muſt be deducted on account of the allowance made to the merchant who pays ready money, inſtead of availing himſelf of eighteen months credit which he has a right to take, and on account of the ſmuggling that is carried on in the ſmall ports as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 6,333,351 livres, 18 ſols, 6 deniers **, and there will conſequently remain for government no more than 12,666,715 livres, 17 ſols, 6 deniers ††.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe laſt abuſes, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to Great

* 738,281l. 5s. † 442,968l. 15s. ‡ About 6d. $\frac{1}{4}$.
§ 2,078,124l. 17s. 9d. $\frac{3}{4}$. ‖ 831,250l. 0s. 1d. $\frac{1}{4}$.
** 277,084l. 2s. 11d. $\frac{1}{4}$. †† 554,168l. 16s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Great Britain than the other northern colonies, more ſo even than Carolina. BOOK XVIII.

Origin of Carolina.

CAROLINA extends three hundred miles along the coaſt, and two hundred miles in the country, as far as the Apalachian mountains. It was diſcovered by the Spaniards, ſoon after the firſt expeditions in the new world; but as they found no gold there to ſatisfy their avarice, they paid no attention to it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an aſylum there to the induſtry of the French proteſtants; but the fanaticiſm that purſued them ſoon deſtroyed all their hopes, which were totally loſt in the murder of that juſt, humane, and enlightened man. Some Engliſh ſucceeded them towards the end of the 16th century: who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile region, in order to go and cultivate a more ungrateful land, in a leſs agreeable climate.

Syſtem of religious and civil government eſtabliſhed by Locke in Carolina.

THERE was not a ſingle European remaining in Carolina, when the Lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven and Aſhley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley and Sir William Colleton obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philoſopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and juſtice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppoſe the prevalence of fanaticiſm, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but

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but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured, at leaſt, to reconcile them, if poſſible, with a principle of reaſon and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, ſaid he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them ſuffer for their ignorance. The different ſects of chriſtians, who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conſcience there, which prieſts and princes refuſe them in Europe: nor ſhould Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blindneſs, which lenity and perſuaſion might contribute to remove. Such was Mr. Locke's reaſoning with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions, which no one had hitherto taken the liberty to call in queſtion. Diſguſted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different ſyſtems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquieſced in the arguments he propoſed to them. They admitted toleration in the ſame manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only reſtriction laid upon this ſaving principle was, that every perſon, claiming the protection of that ſettlement, ſhould at the age of ſeventeen regiſter himſelf in ſome particular communion.

The Engliſh philoſopher was not ſo favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that thoſe, who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government,

ment, had reſtrained his views, as will be the caſe of every writer, who employs his pen for great men, or miniſters; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphyſician than a ſtateſman, purſued philoſophy only in thoſe tracts which had been opened by Deſcartes and Leibnitz; it is certain that the ſame man, who had diſſipated and deſtroyed ſo many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legiſlation. The author of a work, the permanency of which will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny ſhall have broken all the ſprings, and all the monuments of the genius and merit of a people eſteemed by the whole world for ſo many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Monteſquieu himſelf did not perceive that he was making men for governments, inſtead of making governments for men.

THE code of Carolina, by a ſingularity not to be accounted for in an Engliſhman and a philoſopher, gave to the eight proprietors, who founded the ſettlement and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewiſe all the powers of legiſlation.

THE court, which was compoſed of this ſovereign body, and was called, the Palatine Court, was inveſted with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility; but with new and unprecedented titles. For inſtance, they were to create,

in

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in each county, two Caciques, each of whom was to be poſſeſſed of twenty-four thouſand acres of land; and a Landgrave, who was to have four-ſcore thouſand. The perſons, on whom theſe honours ſhould be beſtowed, were to compoſe the upper houſe; and their poſſeſſions were made unalienable; a circumſtance totally inconſiſtent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the moſt for the term of three lives.

THE lower houſe was compoſed of the deputies from the ſeveral counties and towns. The number of this repreſentative body was to be increaſed in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than one livre, two ſols and ſix deniers * per acre; and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both ſlaves and freemen, were under an obligation to take up arms upon the firſt order they ſhould receive from the Palatine Court.

IT was not long before the defects of a conſtitution, in which the powers of the ſtate were ſo unequally divided, began to be diſcerned. The proprietary lords, influenced by deſpotic principles, uſed every endeavour to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the coloniſts, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themſelves with equal zeal to avoid ſervitude. From this ſtruggle of oppoſite intereſts aroſe an inevitable confuſion, which put

* About 1s.

put a ſtop to every uſeful exertion of induſtry. The whole province, diſtracted with quarrels, diſſentions and tumults, was rendered incapable of making any progreſs, though great improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its ſituation.

Nor were theſe evils ſufficient to call for a redreſs, which was only to ariſe from the exceſs to which they were carried. Granville, who, as the oldeſt of the proprietors, was in 1705 ſole governor of the colony, formed the reſolution of obliging all the non-conformiſts, who were two thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worſhip eſtabliſhed in England. This act of violence, though diſavowed, and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animoſity was ſtill ſubſiſting, the province was attacked by ſeveral bands of ſavages, driven to deſpair by a continued courſe of the moſt atrocious inſolence and injuſtice. Theſe unfortunate wretches were all conquered and all put to the ſword: but the courage and vigour, which this war revived in the breaſts of the coloniſts, was the prelude to the fall of their oppreſſors. Thoſe tyrants having refuſed to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themſelves, were all, excepting Carteret, who ſtill preſerved one eighth of the country, ſtripped in 1728 of their prerogatives, which they had only made an ill uſe of.

They

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They received however 540,000 livres * by way of compenſation. From this time, the crown reſumed the government, and in order to give the colony a foretaſte of its moderation, gave it the ſame conſtitution as the reſt. It was likewiſe divided into two ſeparate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the adminiſtration of it. It is from this happy period, that the proſperity of this great province is to be dated.

Climate and produce of Carolina.

There is not, perhaps, throughout the new world a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two ſeaſons of the year, which, for the moſt part, only moderate the exceſſes of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the ſummer are not exceſſive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coaſt of any length, are diſperſed before the middle of the day. But on the other hand, here, as well as in almoſt every other part of America, the inhabitants are ſubject to ſuch ſudden and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to obſerve a regularity in their diet and cloathing, which would be unneceſſary in a more ſettled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being expoſed to hurricanes; but theſe are leſs frequent and leſs violent than in the iſlands.

A VAST

* 23,625l.

A VAST, melancholy, and uniform plain extends from the ſea-ſhore fourſcore or a hundred miles within land. From this diſtance, the country beginning to riſe, affords a more pleaſing proſpect, a purer and dryer air. This part, before the arrival of the Engliſh, was covered with one immenſe foreſt, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It conſiſted of large trees growing as nature had caſt them, without order or deſign, at unequal diſtances, and not encumbered with underwood: by which means more land could be cleared here in a week, than in ſeveral months among us.

THE ſoil of Carolina is very various. On the coaſt and near the mouths of the rivers, which fall into the ſea, it is either covered with uſeleſs and unhealthy moraſſes, or compoſed of a pale, light, ſandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberleſs ſtreams that divide the country, it is exceſſively fruitful. At a diſtance from the coaſts, there are found ſometimes large waſtes of white ſand, which produce nothing but pines; in other places there are lands, where the oak and the wallnut-tree announce fertility. Theſe alternatives and variations are not obſervable in the inland parts; and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

ADMIRABLY adapted as theſe ſpots are for the purpoſes of agriculture, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of

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cattle. Thouſands of horned cattle are bred here, which go out in the morning without a herdſman to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs, which are ſuffered to fatten themſelves in the ſame manner, are ſtill more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates here both in fleſh and wool. For this reaſon, it is leſs common.

In 1723, the whole colony conſiſted of no more than four thouſand white people, and thirty-two thouſand blacks. Its exports to other parts of America and to Europe did not exceed 4,950,000 livres*. Since that time it hath acquired a degree of ſplendour, which it owes entirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

South Carolina, though it hath ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing a conſiderable barter trade with the ſavages, hath gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of ſtuff by mixing the ſilk it produces with its wool; yet its progreſs is principally to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo.

The firſt of theſe articles was brought there by accident. A ſhip, on its return from India, ran aground on this coaſt. It was laden with rice, which, being thrown on ſhore by the waves, grew up. This unexpected good fortune led the coloniſts to attempt the cultivation of a commodity, which the ſoil itſelf ſeemed to invite them to try. For a long time little progreſs was made in it; becauſe

* 216,562l. 10s.

becauſe the coloniſts being obliged to ſend their crops to the mother country, from whence they were ſhipped again for Spain and Portugal, where the conſumption was, ſold them at ſo low a price, that it ſcarce anſwered the expences of cultivation. Since 1730, when a more enlightened miniſtry gave them permiſſion to export and ſell their grain themſelves at foreign markets, an increaſe of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at preſent greatly augmented and may be ſtill increaſed; but it is a queſtion whether this will always be for the advantage of the colony. Of all production rice is the moſt detrimental to the ſalubrity of the climate; at leaſt, it hath been eſteemed ſo in the Milaneſe, where the peaſants on the rice-grounds are all of them ſallow complexioned and dropſical; as well as in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited. Egypt had, without doubt, its precautions againſt the ill effects of a grain in other reſpects ſo nutritious. China muſt alſo have its preſervatives, which art provides againſt nature, whoſe favours are ſometimes attended with pernicious conſequences. Perhaps, alſo, under the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greateſt abundance, the heat, which makes it flouriſh in the midſt of water, quickly diſperſes the moiſt and noxious vapours that exhale from the rice-fields. But if the cultivation of rice ſhould come to be neglected in Carolina, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

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THIS plant, which is a native of Indoſtan, was firſt brought to perfection in Mexico, and the Caribbee iſlands. It was tried later and with leſs ſucceſs in South-Carolina. This principal ingredient in dying is there of ſo inferior a quality, that it is ſcarce ſold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet thoſe, who cultivate it, do not deſpair, in time, of ſupplanting both the Spaniards and French at every market. The goodneſs of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapneſs of their proviſions, the opportunities they have of ſupplying themſelves with utenſils, and of procuring ſlaves; every thing, in ſhort, flatters their expectation: and the ſame hopes have always been entertained by the inhabitants of North-Carolina.

IT is well known that this country was the firſt on the continent of the new world, on which the Engliſh landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Ralegh took poſſeſſion of in 1585. A total emigration, in a ſhort time, left it deſtitute of coloniſts; nor did it begin to be repeopled, even when large ſettlements were eſtabliſhed in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwiſe account for this deſertion, than from the obſtacles which trading veſſels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit ſhips of more than ſeventy or eighty tons. Thoſe of greater burthen are forced to anchor between the continent and ſome adjacent iſlands. The tenders which are employed in lading

lading and unlading them augment the expence and trouble both of their exports and imports. BOOK XVIII.

FROM this circumſtance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina was at firſt inhabited only by a ſet of miſerable men without name, laws, or profeſſion. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more ſcarce, thoſe, who were not able to purchaſe them, betook themſelves to a country where they could get lands without purchaſe. Refugees of other kinds availed themſelves of the ſame reſource. Order and property became eſtabliſhed at the ſame time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European ſettlers.

THE firſt people, whom chance diſperſed along theſe ſavage coaſts, confined themſelves to the breeding of cattle, and the cutting of wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New-England. In a ſhort time they contrived to make the pine-tree produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch. For the turpentine they had nothing to do but to make two ſlits about a foot in length, in the trunk of the tree, at the bottom of which they placed veſſels to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raiſed a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: to theſe they ſet fire and the reſin diſtilled from them into caſks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits formed of

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potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid ſtate. This labour, however, was not ſufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: they then proceeded to grow corn; and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being ſubject to mildew, and to exhauſt itſelf in ſtraw, never throve. But ſeveral experiments having proved to the North-Carolina inhabitants that they were not liable to the ſame inconvenience, they ſucceeded ſo far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to ſupply a conſiderable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province to join the harveſts of Africa and Aſia to thoſe of Europe. The cultivation of them is but yet in its infancy.

THERE is ſcarce one twentieth part of the territory of the two Carolinas that is cleared; and, at this time, the only cultivated ſpots are thoſe, which are the moſt ſandy and the neareſt to the ſea. The reaſon why the coloniſts have not ſettled further back in the country is, that of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit ſhipping higher than ſixty miles. This inconvenience is not to be remedied but by making roads or canals; and works of that kind require ſo many hands, and ſo much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of ſuch an improvement are ſtill very diſtant.

NEITHER

NEITHER of the colonies, however, have reason to complain of their lot. The impoſts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandiſe, do not exceed 135,000 livres*. The paper-currency of North-Carolina does not amount to more than 1,125,000 livres†, and that of South-Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 5,625,000‡. Neither of them are in debt to the mother country; and this advantage, which is not common even in the Engliſh colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to the neighbouring provinces, to the Caribbee iſlands and to Europe.

IN 1754, there were exported from South-Carolina, ſeven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine, two thouſand, nine hundred and forty-three of tar; five thouſand, eight hundred and ſixty-nine of pitch or roſin; four hundred and ſixteen barrels of beef; fifteen hundred and ſixty of pork; ſixteen thouſand four hundred buſhels of Indian corn; and nine thouſand, one hundred and ſixty-two of peas; four thouſand, one hundred and eighty tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair; one million, one hundred and forty thouſand planks; two hundred and ſix thouſand joiſts; and three hundred and eighty-five thouſand feet of timber; eight hundred and eighty-two hogſheads of wild deer-ſkins; one hundred and four thouſand, ſix hundred and eighty-two barrels

* 5,906l. 5s. † 49,118l. 15s. ‡ 246,093l. 15s.

BOOK XVIII. of rice; and two hundred and ſixteen thouſand, nine hundred and eighty four pounds of indigo.

In the ſame year North-Carolina exported ſixty-one thouſand, five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar; twelve thouſand and fifty-five of pitch; and ten thouſand, four hundred and twenty-nine of turpentine; ſeven hundred and ſixty-two thouſand, three hundred and thirty planks; and two thouſand, ſix hundred and forty-ſeven feet of timber; ſixty-one thouſand, five hundred buſhels of wheat, and ten thouſand of peas; three thouſand, three hundred barrels of beef and pork; one hundred hogſheads of tobacco; ten thouſand hundred weight of tanned hides, and thirty thouſand ſkins of different kinds.

In the above account, there is not a ſingle article that has not been conſiderably increaſed ſince that time. Several of them have been doubled, and the moſt valuable of all, the indigo, has increaſed to three times the quantity.

Some productions of North Carolina are exported to Europe and the Caribbee iſlands, though there is no ſtaple town to receive them; and that Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which hath been built in lieu of it upon the river Neus, can ſcarce be conſidered as ſmall villages. The largeſt and moſt valuable part of its exports is conveyed to Charles-town to increaſe the riches of South-Carolina.

This town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Aſhley; ſurrounded by the moſt beautiful

beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the center and the capital. It is well built, intersected with several agreeable streets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made there from the accession and circulation of its trade, must necessarily have had some influence upon the manners of the people: of all the towns in North-America, it is the one in which the conveniencies of luxury are most to be met with. But the disadvantage its road labours under, of not being able to admit ships of above two hundred tons, will make it lose its present splendour. It will be deserted for Port Royal, which admits vessels of all kinds into its harbour, and in great numbers. A settlement has already been formed there, which is continually increasing, and will most probably meet with the greatest success. Besides the productions of North and South-Carolina, that will naturally be sent to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, a colony that has been lately established near it.

Foundation of Georgia.

Carolina and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land which extends one hundred and twenty miles upon the sea coast, and three hundred miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to the north and south are the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence, which

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which liberty, the ſource of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, ſerved to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his eſtate to ſet at liberty ſuch inſolvent debtors as were detained in priſon by their creditors. Prudential reaſons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that ſuch unhappy priſoners as were releaſed, ſhould be tranſplanted into that deſert country, that was now intended to be peopled. It was named Georgia in honour of the reigning ſovereign.

THIS inſtance of reſpect, the more pleaſing, as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a deſign of ſo much real advantage to the ſtate, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres * to the eſtate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary ſubſcription produced a much more conſiderable ſum. General Oglethorpe, a man, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by his taſte for great deſigns, by his zeal for his country, and his paſſion for glory, was fixed upon to direct theſe public finances, and to carry into execution ſo excellent a project. Deſirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he choſe to conduct himſelf the firſt coloniſts that were ſent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his

* 9,843l. 15s.

his people on a ſpot ten miles diſtant from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. This riſing ſettlement was called Savannah from the name of the river; and inconſiderable as it was in its infant ſtate, was, however, to become the capital of a flouriſhing colony. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than one hundred perſons, but before the end of the year the number was increaſed to 618; of whom 127 had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and 113 women, 102 lads, and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous poſterity.

This ſettlement was increaſed in 1735 by the arrival of ſome Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an eſtabliſhment offered them upon the borders of the Alatamaha, to defend the colony, if neceſſary, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and ſeveral of their countrymen came over to ſettle among them.

In the ſame year, a great number of proteſtants driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical prieſt, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conſcience. At firſt they ſettled on a ſpot juſt above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards choſe to be at a greater diſtance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called Ebenezer.

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Some Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the distance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony consisting of a hundred habitations, was named Purysburgh, from Pury their founder, who having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him.

In these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest in order to build the city Augusta, two hundred and thirty-six miles distant from the ocean. The goodness of the soil, though excellent in itself, was not the motive of their fixing upon this situation; but they were induced to it by the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the savages. Their project was so successful, that as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of these skins was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting the largest ships to sail upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where she had sent near five thousand men, and laid out 1,485,000 livres* exclusive of the voluntary contributions that have been raised by zealous patriots.

* 64,968l. 15s.

patriots. But to her great ſurpriſe, ſhe received information 1741, that there remained ſcarce a ſixth part of that numerous colony ſent to Georgia; who being now totally diſcouraged, ſeemed only deſirous to fix in a more favourable ſituation. The reaſons of theſe calamities were enquired into and diſcovered.

Impediments that have prevented the progreſs of Georgia.

THIS colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the ſeeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent ſcheme; but nations any more than individuals do not learn inſtruction from their paſt miſconduct. An enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard againſt every miſuſe of its confidence. The Engliſh miniſtry, though zealouſly attached to the common welfare, ſacrificed the public intereſt to the rapacious views of intereſted individuals.

THE firſt uſe that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were inveſted with was to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of legiſlation, that made them entirely maſters not only of the police, juſtice and finances of the country, but even of the lives and eſtates of its inhabitants. Every ſpecies of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original poſſeſſors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their intereſt and knowledge; and it was

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considered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation. It seldom happens, that a man resolves to leave his country but upon the prospect of some great advantage that works strongly upon his imagination. All limits, therefore, prescribed to his industry, are so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increase.

The taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the English colonies, are very inconsiderable, and even these are not levied till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service increased prodigiously, in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive

perceive that the ſmalleſt duty impoſed upon the trade of a populous and flouriſhing province, would much ſooner enrich them than the largeſt fines laid upon a barren and uncltivated country. BOOK XVIII.

To this ſpecies of oppreſſion was added another, which however incredible it may appear, might ariſe from a ſpirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the uſe of ſlaves. Carolina and ſome other colonies having been eſtabliſhed without their aſſiſtance, it was thought that a country deſtined to be the bulwark of thoſe American poſſeſſions ought not to be peopled by a ſet of ſlaves, who could not be in the leaſt intereſted in the defence of their oppreſſors. But it was not at the ſame time foreſeen, that coloniſts, who were leſs favoured by the mother country, than their neighbours, who were ſituated in a country leſs ſuſceptible of tillage and in a hotter climate, would want ſtrength and ſpirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

The indolence which ſo many obſtacles gave riſe to, found a further excuſe, in another prohibition that had been impoſed. The diſturbances produced by the uſe of ſpirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the coloniſts of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, which were generally unwholeſome; and of the

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the only means they had to reſtore the waſte of ſtrength and ſpirits that muſt be the conſequence of inceſſant labour. Beſides this it prevented their commerce with the Antilles, as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn and cattle that ought to have been their moſt valuable commodities, in return for the rum of thoſe iſlands.

The mother country, at length, perceived how much theſe defects in the political regulations and inſtitutions had prevented the increaſe of the colony, and freed them from the reſtraints they had before been clogged with. The government in Georgia was ſettled upon the ſame plan as that which had rendered Carolina ſo flouriſhing; and inſtead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national poſſeſſions.

Though this colony has not ſo extenſive a territory, ſo temperate a climate, nor ſo fertile a ſoil as the neighbouring province, and though it can never be ſo flouriſhing as Carolina, notwithſtanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almoſt all the ſame productions, yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the apprehenſions ariſing from the tyranny of its government which have with reaſon prevented people from ſettling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be aſſerted, that Georgia is the leaſt populous of all the Engliſh colonies upon the continent, notwithſtanding the ſuccours government has ſo amply beſtowed upon it. All theſe advantages will fortunately be increaſed by the acquiſition of Florida;

rida; a province, which from its vicinity must necessarily influence the prosperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention from still more important reasons. BOOK XVIII.

Under the name of Florida the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America, which extends from Mexico to the northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, has long since confined this vague description to the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana. The Spaniards, who had often contented themselves with preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit, were desirous in 1565 of settling on this spot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a small establishment there. History of Florida. Its cession from the Spaniards to the English.

The most easterly settlement in this colony was known by the name of San Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithstanding it was situated on a navigable river at two leagues distance from the sea, on an agreeable and fertile soil, had they not discovered the sassafras upon it.

This tree, a native of America, is of a better kind in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains; but always in a soil that is neither too dry, nor too damp. It is straight and lofty like the fir-tree, it has no branches, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves resemble those of

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the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken in infuſion as the mullein and tea. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very ſerviceable in medicine, ought to be ſpungy, light, of a greyiſh colour; of a ſharp, ſweetiſh and aromatic taſte; and ſhould have the ſmell of the fennel and aniſe. Theſe qualities give it the virtue of promoting perſpiration, reſolving thick and viſcous humours, and relieving palſies and catarrhs. It was formerly much uſed in venereal complaints.

THE firſt Spaniards who ſettled there, would, probably have fallen a ſacrifice to this laſt diſorder, without the aſſiſtance of this powerful remedy; they would, at leaſt, not have recovered from thoſe dangerous fevers they were generally ſubject to at St. Mattheo; either in conſequence of the food of the country, or the badneſs of the waters. But the ſavages taught them, that by drinking in a morning faſting, and at their meals, water in which ſaſſafras had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a ſpeedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved ſucceſsful. But ſtill the village never emerged from the obſcurity and diſtreſs which were, undoubtedly, the natural and inſurmountable evils that attended the conquerors of the new world.

ANOTHER eſtabliſhment was formed upon the ſame coaſt, at fifteen leagues diſtance from San Mattheo, known by the name of St. Auguſtine. The Engliſh attacked it in 1747, but were obliged

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to desist their attempts. Some Scotch Highlanders, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of the assailants, were repulsed and slain. A sergeant, who fought among the Spaniards, was spared by the Indian savages, only that he might be reserved to undergo those torments which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said, on seeing the horrid tortures that awaited him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner: BOOK XVIII.

"HEROES and patriarchs of the western world, "you were not the enemies that I sought for; but "you have at last been the conquerors. The "chance of war has thrown me in your power. "Make what use you please of the right of con- "quest. This is a right I do not call in ques- "tion. But as it is customary in my country to "offer a ransom for one's life, listen to a proposal "not unworthy your notice.

"KNOW then, valiant Americans, that in the "country of which I am a native, there are some "men who possess a superior knowledge of the "secrets of nature. One of those sages connected "to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me, "when I became a soldier, a charm to make me "invulnerable. You must have observed how I "have escaped all your darts. Without such a "charm would it have been possible for me to "have survived all the mortal blows you have "aimed at me? For I appeal to your own valour, "to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted it-

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" ſelf, and has not avoided any danger. Life is " not ſo much the object of my requeſt, as the " glory of having communicated to you a ſecret " of ſo much conſequence to your ſafety, and of " rendering the moſt valiant nation upon the " earth, invincible. Suffer me only to have one " of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the " ceremonies of inchantment, of which I will now " make trial on myſelf before you."

THE Indians liſtened with eagerneſs to this diſcourſe, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a ſhort conſultation, they untied one of the priſoner's arms. The highlander begged that they would put his broad ſword into the hands of the moſt expert and ſtouteſt man among them; and at the ſame time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering ſome words accompanied with magic ſigns, he cried aloud with a chearful countenance. " Obſerve now, O valiant Indians, " an inconteſtable proof my honeſty. Thou war- " rior, who now holdeſt my keen cutting wea- " pon, do thou now ſtrike with all thy ſtrength: " far from being able to ſever my head from my " body, thou wilt not even wound the ſkin of my " neck."

HE had ſcarcely ſpoke theſe words, when the Indian, aiming the moſt violent blow, ſtruck off the head of the ſergeant, to the diſtance of twenty feet. The ſavages aſtoniſhed, ſtood motionleſs, viewing the bloody corpſe of the ſtranger; and then

then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the priſoner had made uſe of to avoid the torture by haſtening his death, they beſtowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it ſhould have, it will only be one falſehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

The Spaniards, who in all their progreſs through America, were more employed in deſtroying the inhabitants, than in erecting buildings, had formed only thoſe two ſettlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama. At fourſcore leagues diſtance from St. Auguſtine, upon the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, they had raiſed that of St. Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this ſituation, well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already loſt all the little conſequence it had at firſt obtained, when the Engliſh ſettled at Carolina in 1704, and entirely deſtroyed it.

At the diſtance of thirty leagues further was another colony, known by the name of St. Joſeph, but of leſs conſequence than that of St. Mark. Situated on a flat coaſt, expoſed to every wind, and on a barren ſoil and an uncultivated country; it was the laſt place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But avarice being fre-

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quently a dupe to ignorance, ſome Spaniards ſettled there.

THOSE Spaniards who had formed an eſtabliſhment at the bay of Penſacola upon the borders of Louiſiana, were at leaſt happier in their choice of ſituation. The ſoil was ſuſceptible of culture; and there was a road which had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the beſt ſhips that arrived there had not ſoon been worm-eaten.

THESE five colonies, ſcattered over a ſpace ſufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thouſand inhabitants ſurpaſſing each other in ſloth and poverty. They were all ſupported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they ſold at the Havannah, and the proviſions with which they ſerved their garriſon, whoſe pay amounted to 750,000 livres * enabled them to purchaſe cloths and every article which their ſoil did not ſupply. Notwithſtanding the miſerable ſtate in which they had been left by the mother country, the greateſt part of them choſe to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to England by the treaty of 1763. This acquiſition, therefore, was no more than a deſert, yet ſtill it was ſome advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent and diſſaffected inhabitants.

GREAT BRITAIN was pleaſed with the proſpect of peopling a vaſt province, whoſe limits have been extended even to the Miſſiſippi, by the ceſſion

* 32,822l. 10s.

sion France has made of part of Louisiana. The better to accomplish her design, she has divided it into two governments, under the names of East and West Florida. BOOK XVIII.

The English had long been desirous of establishing themselves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free communication with the wealthiest colonies of Spain. At first they had no other view except the profits arising from a contraband trade. But an advantage so precarious and momentary, was not an object of sufficient importance, nor any way suitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conquests of an industrious people flourishing. Sensible of this the English give every encouragement to promote agriculture in the finest part of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no less than 205,875 livres* for the two Floridas. Here, at least, the mother for some time administers nourishment to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government sucks and exhausts at the same time the milk of the mother country and the blood of the colonies.

By what means England may render Florida useful to her.

It is not easy to determine, to what degree of splendour this indulgence with time and good management may raise the Floridas. Appearances, however, are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of grain. The first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were

* 9,007l. 0s. 7d. ½.

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attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the number of coloniſts was greatly increaſed by it. They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother country, and all the proteſtant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population be increaſed, if the ſovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly purſued, and would condeſcend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reaſon ſhould this method of civilizing the ſavage tribes, which has been ſo ſucceſsfully employed by the moſt enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who from their principles muſt admit a greater equality than other nations? Would they then be ſtill reduced to the cruel alternative of ſeeing their crops burned, and their labourers maſſacred, or of perſecuting without intermiſſion, and exterminating without pity, thoſe wandering bands of natives? Surely, a generous nation, which has made ſuch great and ſuch continued efforts to reign without a rival over this vaſt tract of the new world, ſhould prefer to ſanguinary and inglorious hoſtilities, a humane and infallible method of diſarming the only enemy that remains to diſturb her tranquillity!

THE Engliſh flatter themſelves, that without the aſſiſtance of theſe alliances they ſhall ſoon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of ſavage nations, ſay they, to waſte away in proportion as the people of civilized ſtates come to ſettle among them. Unable to ſubmit to the

the labour of cultivation, and failing of their usual subsistence from the chace, they are reduced to the necessity of abandoning all those tracts of lands which industry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the case with all the natives bordering on the European settlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Assenipouals and Hudson's bay, where they must necessarily encroach upon each other, and in a short time must perish for want of subsistence.

But before this total destruction is brought about, events of a very serious nature may occur. We have not yet forgotten the generous Pondiack. That formidable warriour had broke with the English in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, sent him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. *How can it be*, said their leader, *that a man, who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life?* Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His design was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independ-

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independence. Several unfortunate circumſtances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be reſumed, and it is not impoſſible that it may ſucceed. Should this be the caſe, the Engliſh will be under a neceſſity of protecting their frontier againſt an enemy, that hath none of thoſe expences to ſuſtain or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promiſed themſelves from conqueſts made at the expence of ſo much treaſure and ſo much blood, conſiderably retarded, at leaſt, if not intirely loſt.

Extent of the Britiſh dominions in North America.

THE two Floridas, part of Louiſiana, and all Canada, obtained at the ſame æra, either by conqueſt or treaty, have rendered the Engliſh maſters of all that ſpace, which extends from the river St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſippi; ſo that without reckoning Hudſon's bay, Newfoundland, and the other iſlands of North-America, they are in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vaſt territory is divided from north to ſouth by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from and approaching the coaſt, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and ſometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond the Apalachian mountains is an immenſe deſert, into which ſome travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues without finding an end to it. It is ſuppoſed that the rivers at the extremity of theſe uncultivated

tivated regions have a communication with the South-ſea. If this conjecture, which is not deſtitute of probability, ſhould be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the world. As her territories extend from one American ſea to the other, ſhe may be ſaid to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African ſettlements, ſhe freights and ſends out ſhips to the new world. From her maritime ſettlements in the eaſt ſhe would have a direct channel to the Weſt Indies by the Pacific ocean. She would diſcover thoſe ſlips of land or branches of the ſea, the iſthmus of the ſtreight, which lies between the northern extremities of Aſia and America. By the vaſt extent of her colonies ſhe would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would ſecure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the ſeas ſhe might aſpire to the ſupremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the deſtiny of any ſingle nation to attain to ſuch a pitch of greatneſs. Is then extent of dominion ſo flattering an object, when conqueſts are made only to be loſt again? Let the Romans ſpeak! Does it conſtitute power, to poſſeſs ſuch a ſhare of the globe, that ſome part ſhall always be enlightened by the rays of the ſun, if while we reign in one world we are to languiſh in obſcurity in the other? Let the Spaniards anſwer!

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The Engliſh will be happy, if they can preſerve by the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which muſt ever be found too extenſive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodſhed. But as this is the price, which ambition muſt always pay for the ſucceſs of its enterpriſes, it is by commerce alone that conqueſts can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human induſtry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is ſo low near the ſea, that in many parts it is ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the top of the main maſt, even after anchoring in fourteen fathom, yet the coaſt is very eaſy of acceſs, becauſe the depth diminiſhes inſenſibly as you advance. From this circumſtance it is eaſy to determine exactly by the line the diſtance of the main land. Beſides this, the mariner has another ſign, which is the appearance of trees, that, ſeeming to riſe out of the ſea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a ſhore, which preſents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preſervation of ſhipping.

The productions of the earth ariſe in great abundance from a ſoil newly cleared; but on the other hand they are a long time before they come to maturity. Many plants are even ſo late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while on our continent, both the fruit and the ſeed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude.

What

What can be the cauſe of this phænomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fiſhery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the ſhade of theſe foreſts grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this ſpecies of manure, the ſummer came on; and nature, left entirely to herſelf, continued heaping inceſſantly upon each other theſe effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long courſe of time, became accuſtomed to a long vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to ſubdue the habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the diſpoſitions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate ſo long unknown or neglected by mankind, preſents them with advantages, which ſupply the defects and ill conſequences of that omiſſion.

Trees peculiar to North America.

It produces almoſt all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has alſo others peculiar to itſelf; among which are the ſugar maple, and the candleburry myrtle. The candleburry myrtle is a ſhrub which delights in a moiſt ſoil, and is, therefore, ſeldom found at any diſtance from the ſea. Its ſeeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the

BOOK XVIII. the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there riſes a viſcous body, which ſwims at the top, and is ſkimmed off. As ſoon as this is come to a conſiſtence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a ſecond time, when it becomes tranſparent and acquires an agreeable green colour.

THIS ſubſtance, which in quality and conſiſtence is a medium between tallow and wax, ſupplied the place of both to the firſt Europeans that landed in this country. The dearneſs of it has occaſioned it to be leſs uſed, in proportion as the number of domeſtic animals hath increaſed. Nevertheleſs as it burns ſlower than tallow, is leſs ſubject to melt, and has not that diſagreeable ſmell, it is ſtill preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uſes, the leaſt valuable. It ſerves to make excellent ſoap and plaiſters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpoſe of ſealing letters. The ſugar maple merits no leſs attention than the candleburry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

THIS tree, whoſe nature is to flouriſh by the ſide of ſtreams, or in marſhy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an inciſion of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice, that flows from it, is conveyed into a veſſel placed to receive it. The young trees are ſo full of this liquor, that

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in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford leſs, but of much better quality. No more than one inciſion or two at moſt can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it ſoon dies.

THE ſap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to ſugar, it is evaporated by fire, till it has acquired the conſiſtence of a thick ſyrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The ſyrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of ſugar, almoſt tranſparent, and pleaſant enough to the taſte. To give it a whiteneſs, flour is ſometimes mixed up with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of ſugar is uſed for the ſame purpoſes, as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of ſugar, ſo that it can be of no great uſe in trade.

Birds peliar to North America.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the foreſts of North America, there is one extremely ſingular in its kind; this is the humming bird, a ſpecies of which, on account of its ſmallneſs, is called *l'oiſeau mouche*, or the fly bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breaſt is of a roſe colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings and tail are grey, bordered with ſilver, and ſtreaked with the brighteſt gold.

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gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it ſo delicate a caſt, that it reſembles a velvet flower, whoſe beauty fades on the ſlighteſt touch.

THE ſpring is the only ſeaſon for this charming bird. Its neſt, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outſide with a grey and greeniſh moſs, and on the inſide lined with a very ſoft down gathered from yellow flowers. This neſt is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it about the ſize of the ſmalleſt peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at moſt.

THE humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itſelf in the calix of the largeſt flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noiſe like that of a ſpinning-wheel. When tired, it lights upon the neareſt tree or ſtake; reſts a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithſtanding its weakneſs, it does not appear timid; but will ſuffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

WHO could imagine, that ſo diminutive an animal could be malicious, paſſionate and quarrelſome? Theſe birds are often ſeen fighting together with great fury and obſtinacy. The ſtrokes they give with their beak are ſo ſudden and ſo quick, that they are not diſtinguiſhable by the eye. Their

wings

wings move with ſuch agility, that they ſeem not to move at all. They are more heard than ſeen: and their noiſe reſembles that of a ſparrow. BOOK XVIII.

THESE little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves aſunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is ſaid, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the ſummer, thouſands of flowers may be ſeen ſtript of all their leaves by the fury of the humming birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of reſentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unneceſſarily deſtructive inſtinct.

NORTH AMERICA formerly was devoured by inſects. As the air was not then purified, the ground cleared, the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, theſe little animals deſtroyed without oppoſition all the productions of nature. None of them was uſeful to mankind. There is only one at preſent, which is the bee: but this is ſuppoſed to have been carried on from the old to the new world. The ſavages call it, the Engliſh fly; and it is only found near the coaſts. Theſe circumſtances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous ſwarms through the foreſts of the new world. Their numbers are continually increaſing, and their honey, which is converted to ſeveral uſes, ſupplies many perſons with food.

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The Engliſh ſupply North America with domeſtic animals.

THE bee is not the only preſent which Europe has had it in her power to make to America. She has enriched her alſo with a breed of domeſtic animals, for the ſavages had none. America had not yet aſſociated beaſts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ſhips ſeveral of their ſpecies of domeſtic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiouſly; but all of them, excepting the hog, whoſe whole merit conſiſts in fattening himſelf, have loſt much of that ſtrength and ſize which they enjoyed in thoſe countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horſes and ſheep have degenerated in the northern colonies of England, though the particular kinds of each had been choſen with great precaution.

WITHOUT doubt, it is the climate, the nature of the air and the ſoil which has prevented the ſucceſs of their tranſplantation. Theſe animals, as well as the men, were at firſt attacked by epidemical diſorders. If the contagion did not, as in the men, affect the principles of generation in them, ſeveral ſpecies of them at leaſt were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell ſhort of the laſt; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable ſpecies to grow and flouriſh in its native ſoil. The love of their native ſoil ſeems an ordinance

ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, like the desire of preserving their existence. BOOK XVIII.

European grain is carried into North America by the English.

YET there are certain correspondences of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule against transporting animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North-American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize. This species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They often ate it boiled or toasted merely upon the coals.

THE maize has many advantages. Its leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times without impairing the harvest. In short it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

THESE causes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the Eng-

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liſh to preſerve and even promote it in their ſettlements. They ſold it to Portugal, to South America, and the ſugar iſlands, and had ſufficient for their own uſe. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which ſucceeded, though not ſo perfectly as in their native ſoil. With the ſuperfluity of their harveſts, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of their foreſts, the coloniſts formed a trade with all the wealthieſt and moſt populous provinces of the new world.

THE mother country, finding that her northern colonies had ſupplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would ſoon become her rivals even in Europe at all the markets for ſalt and corn, endeavoured to divert their induſtry to objects that might be more uſeful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpoſe, and had ſoon an opportunity to carry it into execution.

The Engliſh find the neceſſity of having their naval ſtores from America.

THE greateſt part of the pitch and tar the Engliſh wanted for their fleet, uſed to be furniſhed by Sweden. In 1703, that ſtate was ſo blind to its true intereſt, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the reſtrictions of an excluſive patent. The firſt effect of this monopoly was a ſudden and unnatural increaſe of price. England taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by conſiderable premiums the importation of all ſorts of naval ſtores which North America could furniſh.

THESE

These rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this beginning revolution in commerce the attention which it merited.

The modern nations, whose interest were united, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay every restrictive clause upon the exportation of marine stores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end they entered into mutual engagements which were made public in 1718, a time, when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war, that had continued fourteen years.

England was alarmed by so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother country; and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very short time such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards and masts were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

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This ſudden ſucceſs blinded the Britiſh government. The cheapneſs of the commodities furniſhed by the colonies, in compariſon of thoſe which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which ſeemed to inſure a conſtant preference. Upon this the miniſtry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total ſtop enſued in this branch of trade, and made them ſenſible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which though they were not laid ſo high as formerly, were ſufficient to give to the vent of American ſtores the greateſt ſuperiority at leaſt in England, over thoſe of the northern nations.

The woods, though they conſtituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother country. The produce of them had long been exported by the Engliſh to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uſes. As theſe traders did not take in return merchandiſe ſufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburghers, and even the Dutch to import on their bottoms the produce of the moſt fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export and carrying the merchandiſe of other nations had conſiderably augmented the Britiſh navy. The parliament, being informed of this

this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all thoſe duties of importation, which Ruſſian, Swediſh and Daniſh timber are ſubject to. This firſt favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the ſame time that it comprehended every ſpecies of wood in general, was principally calculated for thoſe, which are employed in ſhip-building. An advantage, ſo conſiderable in itſelf would have been greatly improved; if the colonies had built among themſelves veſſels proper for tranſporting cargoes of ſuch weight; if they had made dock yards, from which they might have furniſhed complete freights; and finally, if they had aboliſhed the cuſtom of burning in the ſpring the leaves which had fallen in the preceding autumn. This abſurd practice deſtroys all the young trees, that are beginning in that ſeaſon to ſhoot out; and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for uſe. It is notorious, that veſſels conſtructed in America, or with American materials, laſt but a very ſhort time. This inconvenience may ariſe from ſeveral cauſes; but that, which has juſt been mentioned, merits the greater attention, as it may be eaſily remedied. Beſides timber and maſts for ſhips, America is capable of furniſhing likewiſe ſails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax. BOOK XVIII.

The French proteſtants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious prince become infected with a ſpirit of bigotry, carried their na-

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tional induſtry into all the countries of his enemies, and taught England the value of two commodities of the utmoſt importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with ſome ſucceſs in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly ſupplied with both from Ruſſia. To put a ſtop to this foreign importation, it was propoſed to grant a bounty to North-America of 135 livres*, for every ton of theſe articles. But habit, which is averſe from every thing that is new, however uſeful, prevented the coloniſts at firſt from being allured by this bait. They are ſince reconciled to this bounty; and the produce of their flax and hemp ſerves to keep at home a conſiderable part of 45,000,000 † of livres, which went annually out of Great Britain for the purchaſe of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved ſo far as to ſupply the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to ſupplant other nations in all the markets. A ſoil entirely freſh, which coſts nothing, does not ſtand in need of manure, is interſected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by ſlaves, affords ground for immenſe expectations. To the timber and canvas requiſite for ſhipping we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furniſh this commodity which aſſiſts in acquiring the gold and ſilver that flow ſo abundantly in the ſouthern.

England begins to get iron from North America.

THIS moſt ſerviceable of metals, ſo neceſſary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the

* 6l. † 1,968,750l

the Europeans taught them the moſt fatal uſe of it, that of making weapons. The Engliſh themſelves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had laviſhed on the continent, where they were ſettled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, in concert with thoſe of the coppice woods, which are uſed in the working of them, had procured impoſts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and ſophiſtry, theſe enemies to the public good had ſtifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their intereſts. At length the government took the firſt ſtep towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted, duty free; but at the ſame time it was forbidden to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimſical reſtriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance ſo manifeſtly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted excluſively to the capital.

Though nothing could be more reaſonable than this demand, it met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition. Combinations of intereſted individuals were formed to repreſent, that the hundred and nine forges worked in England, not reckoning thoſe

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those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished moreover bark for the tanneries and materials for ship-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel, for making sharp instruments, or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

These groundless representations had no weight with the parliament, who saw clearly that unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched; and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations were making in these works. It was therefore resolved that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were by a statute of Henry the eighth forbidden to clear their lands: but the parliament took

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off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make use of their estates as they should think proper. BOOK XVIII.

Previous to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden and Russia ten millions of livres * for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will still decrease. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English do not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turky, Africa, the East-Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

Perhaps, the English may be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expect from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it is sufficient for them, if by the assistance of their colonies they can free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their enterprises might have been prevented or at least interrupted by a refusal of the necessary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the empire of the sea, which alone can insure to them the empire of the new world.

England endeavours to procure wine and silk from North America.

After having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior

* 437,500l.

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rior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every meaſure, that can contribute to her enjoyment of a ſpecies of conqueſt ſhe has made in America, not ſo much by the force of her arms as by her induſtry. By bounties judiciouſly beſtowed, ſhe has ſucceeded ſo far as to draw annually from that country twenty million weight of pot-aſhes. The greateſt progreſs has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo and tobacco. In proportion as the ſettlements, from their natural tendency, ſtretched further towards the ſouth, freſh projects and enterpriſes ſuitable to the nature of the ſoil ſuggeſted themſelves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the ſeveral productions were expected which neceſſarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that ſeemed to be wanting in the new hemiſphere; and the Engliſh, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce ſome in America.

Upon that immenſe continent the Engliſh are in poſſeſſion of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, ſize and quantity, but all of a ſour and diſagreeable flavour. It was ſuppoſed that good management would give theſe plants that perfection, which unaſſiſted nature had denied them; and French vine-dreſſers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impoſitions took away their inclination to labour by depriving them of the fruits of their induſtry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and

European

European plants, were all equally unſucceſsful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almoſt impoſſible to be preſerved in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moiſt and hot vapours; the ſeaſons were too unſettled, and the inſects too numerous near the foreſts to ſuffer a production to grow up and proſper, of which the Engliſh and all other nations who have it not are ſo ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, though it will be long firſt, when their colonies will furniſh them with a liquor, which they envy and purchaſe from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This diſpoſition is cruel. England has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that proſperity ſhe is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more uſefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe; this is ſilk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digeſted in its entrails: ſilk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

A very conſiderable ſum of money is annually exported from Great Britain for the purchaſe of this rich production; which gave riſe about thirty years ago to a plan for obtaining ſilk from Carolina; the mildneſs of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry trees ſeemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the govern-

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ment to attract ſome Switzers into the colony, were more ſucceſsful than could have been expected. Yet the progreſs of this branch of trade has not been anſwerable to ſo promiſing a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negro men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up ſilk-worms, an occupation ſuitable to the weakneſs of that ſex, and to the tendereſt age. But it ought to have been conſidered, that men coming from another hemiſphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their firſt care to the cultivation of eſculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate neceſſity. This is the natural and conſtant proceeding of well-governed ſtates. From agriculture, which is the ſource of population, they riſe to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nouriſh commerce, which is the child of induſtry and parent of wealth. The time is, perhaps, come, when the Engliſh may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of ſilk. This is, at leaſt, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 per cent. for ſeven years on all raw ſilks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 per cent. for ſeven years following, and for ſeven years after that a bounty of 15 per cent. If this encouragement produces ſuch improvements as may reaſonably be expected from it,

it, the next ſtep undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which ſeem particularly adapted to the climate and ſoil of the Engliſh colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Aſia, but what may be tranſplanted and cultivated with ſucceſs on the vaſt continent of North America, as ſoon as population ſhall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of ſo rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at preſent is the peopling of her colonies.

With what kind of men England peoples her North American colonies.

THE firſt perſons, who landed in this deſert and ſavage region were Engliſhmen, who had been perſecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

IT was not to be expected that this firſt emigration would be attended with important conſequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are ſo ſtrongly attached to their native ſoil, that nothing leſs than civil wars or revolutions can incline thoſe among them, who have any property, character, or induſtry, to a change of climate and country: for which reaſon, the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquility in Europe was likely to put an inſurmountable bar to the progreſs of American cultivation.

ADD to this, that the Engliſh, though naturally active, ambitious and enterpriſing, were ill-adapted to the buſineſs of clearing the grounds. Accuſtomed to a quiet life, eaſe and many conveniences, nothing but the enthuſiaſm of religion or

politics

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politics could ſupport them under the labours, miſeries, wants and calamities inſeparble from new plantations.

It is further to be obſerved, that, though England might have been able to overcome theſe difficulties, ſhe ought not to have wiſhed to do it. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flouriſhing, and enriching herſelf with their productions, was an advantageous proſpect to her; but thoſe advantages would be dearly purchaſed at the expence of her own population.

Happily for her, the intolerant and deſpotic ſpirit, that prevailed in moſt countries in Europe, forced numberleſs victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its ſtate of deſolation, ſeemed to implore that aſſiſtance for itſelf which it offered to the unfortunate. Theſe men, who had eſcaped from the rod of tyranny, in croſſing the ſeas, abandoned all the hopes of return, and attached themſelves for ever to a country, which at the ſame time afforded them an aſylum and an eaſy quiet ſubſiſtence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerneſs abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purpoſes either of conquering or cultivating the earth. It will even increaſe. The advantage granted to emigrants, throughout the Britiſh dominions, of being naturalized by a reſidence of ſeven years in the colonies, ſufficiently warrants this prediction.

While

While tyranny and perſecution were deſtroying population in Europe, Engliſh America was beginning to be peopled with three ſorts of inhabitants. The firſt claſs conſiſts of freemen. It is the moſt numerous; but hitherto it has viſibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not ſo robuſt and fit for labour, nor ſo powerful in war as the Europeans; either becauſe they have not the improvements of education, or are ſoftened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body: endued with a quickneſs and early penetration, it hath a ready conception, but wants ſteadineſs, and is not uſed to continued thought. It muſt be a matter of aſtoniſhment to find that America has not produced one good poet, able mathematician, or man of genius in any ſingle art or ſcience. The Americans poſſeſs in general a readineſs for acquiring the knowledge of every art or ſcience, but not one ſhews any ſuperior talent for any one in particular. More early advanced, and arriving at a ſtate of maturity ſooner than we do, they are much behind us in the latter part of life.

Perhaps, it will be ſaid, that their population is not very numerous, in compariſon of that of all Europe together; that they want aids, maſters, models, inſtruments, emulation in the arts and ſciences; that education is too neglected, or too little improved. But we may obſerve, that in proportion, we ſee more perſons in America of good

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birth, of an eaſy, competent fortune, with a greater ſhare of leiſure and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progreſs and unfolding of reaſon and genius. Is it poſſible that although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good ſenſe, or, at leaſt, the majority of them, yet not one ſhould have ariſen to any great degree of perfection in the ſlighteſt purſuit; and that among ſuch as have ſtaid in their country no one has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a confirmed ſuperiority in thoſe talents which lead to fame? Has nature then puniſhed them for having croſſed the ocean? Are they a race of people for ever degerated by tranſplanting, by growth and by mixture? Will not time be able to reconcile them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware to judge of future events, before we have the experience of ſeveral centuries. Let us wait till education has corrected the inſurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleaſures of luxury and ſenſuality. Perhaps, we ſhall then ſee that America is propitious to genius, and the arts that give birth to peace and ſociety. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece will produce, perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that ſurrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and eſpecially an Anacreon. Perhaps, another Newton is to ariſe in New Britain. From Engliſh America without doubt will proceed

ceed the firſt rays of the ſciences, if they are at length to break through a ſky ſo long obſcured with clouds. By a ſingular contract with the old world, in which the arts have paſſed from the ſouth towards the north, we ſhall find that in the new world, the north ſerves to enlighten the ſouthern parts. Let the Engliſh clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new univerſe will ariſe out of their hands for the glory and happineſs of mankind. But it is neceſſary that they ſhould take ſteps conformable to this noble deſign, and aim by juſtice and laudable means to form a ſet of people fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not done.

The ſecond claſs of their coloniſts was formerly compoſed of malefactors which the mother country tranſported after condemnation to America, and who were bound to a ſervitude of ſeven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchaſed them from the courts of juſtice. Theſe corrupt men, always diſpoſed to commit freſh crimes, have at length been univerſally neglected.

They have been replaced by indigent perſons, whom the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being able to pay for their paſſage, theſe wretched men are at the diſpoſal of their captain, who ſells them to whom he pleaſes.

This ſort of ſlavery is for a longer or ſhorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If

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among theſe emigrants there are any who are not of age, their ſervitude laſts till the arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of thoſe who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their maſter, who ſets what price he chooſes on his conſent. If any one of them runs away, and is retaken, he is to ſerve a week for each day's abſence, a month for every week, and ſix months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deſerted from his ſervice, may ſell him to whom he pleaſes, but that is only for the term of the firſt contract. Beſides neither the ſervice, nor the ſale carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his ſervitude, the contracted perſon enjoys all the rights of a free citizen. With his freedom, he receives from the maſter whom he has ſerved, either implements for huſbandry, or utenſils proper for his work.

But with whatever appearance of juſtice this ſpecies of traffic may be coloured, the greateſt part of the ſtrangers who go over to America under theſe conditions, would never go on board a ſhip, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland ſpread themſelves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the beſt peopled or leaſt happy. There they ſet forth with raptures the delights of the new world, and the fortunes eaſily acquired in that country. Simple men, ſeduced

duced by these magnificent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, either in pay with the British government, or with companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with inhabitants, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold without their knowledge to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. The English form their supplies of men for husbandry, as princes do for war; for a purpose indeed more useful and more humane, but by the same artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by carefully suppressing all correspondence with America, which might unveil a mystery of imposture and iniquity, too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

But in short there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which makes these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds or contemptible at home, have nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, easily embrace the prospect of a better lot. The means made use of to retain them in a country where chance has given them birth, are only calculated to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is vainly supposed that

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they are to be confined by prohibitions, menaces, and puniſhments: theſe do but exaſperate them, and drive them to deſertion by the very forbidding of it. They ſhould be attached by milder means, and by future expectations; whereas they are impriſoned, and bound: man, born free, is reſtrained from attempting to exiſt in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an aſylum. It has been thought better to ſtifle him in his cradle than to let him ſeek for his ſubſiſtence in ſome favourable climate. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! theſe are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become neceſſary to lay open to the nations the ſchemes that are formed againſt their liberty? Muſt they be told, that by a conſpiracy of the moſt odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which muſt deprive even deſpair itſelf of every reſource? For theſe two centuries paſt, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating in the ſecret receſſes of the cabinet that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompaſſed on every ſide. At every negociation freſh links were added to the chain ſo artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make ſtates more extenſive, but ſubjects more ſubmiſſive, by gradually ſubſtituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The ſeveral ſovereigns have all equally ſtrengthened themſelves in their tyran-

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ny by theie conqueſts, or by their loſſes. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the miſery of their puſillanimous ſubjects; if they were either competitors or adverſaries from motives of ambition, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the ſervitude of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhauſted every other that they might either recover it, or indemnify themſelves by the loſs. If they acquired a new one, the haughtineſs they affected out of it, was the occaſion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another by turns every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur ſometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalſhip, ſometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to ſubject the nations one by means of another to the deſpotiſm they had conſtantly been preparing for them. Ye people who all groan more or leſs ſecretly, be not blinded with reſpect to your condition; thoſe who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear for you. In the extremity of wretchedneſs one ſingle reſource remained for you; that of eſcape and emigration.—Even that has been ſhut againſt you.

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PRINCES have agreed among themſelves to reſtore to one another deſerters, who for the moſt part enliſted by compulſion or by fraud, have a right to eſcape; not only villains who in reality

BOOK XVIII. ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their ſubjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

THUS all ye unhappy labourers, who find neither ſubſiſtence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but in the grave. All ye artiſts and workmen of every ſpecies harraſſed by monopoliſts, who are refuſed the right of working at your own free diſpoſal, unleſs you have purchaſed the privileges of your calling: ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-ſhop, for the purpoſe of enriching a privileged factor: ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages; never expect to live out of a country where ſoldiers and guards keep you impriſoned; go wander in deſpair, and die of regret. If ye venture to complain, your cries will be re-echoed and loſt in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your eſcape, ye will be purſued even beyond mountains and rivers; ye will be ſent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture; and to that eternal reſtraint to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewiſe, whom nature has endowed with a free ſpirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you eraſe from your minds every idea of truth, nature and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-

low-citizens, or elſe maintain a profound ſilence in the receſſes of obſcurity and concealment. All ye who were born in thoſe barbarous ſtates, where the condition for the mutual reſtoration of deſerters has been entered into by the ſeveral princes, and ſealed by a treaty; recollect the inſcription Dante has engraven on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, laſciate omai ogni ſperanza: You who enter here, leave behind you every hope.*

WHAT! is there then no aſylum remaining beyond the ſeas? Will not England open her colonies to thoſe wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the inſupportable yoke of their own country? What occaſion has ſhe for that infamous band of contracted ſlaves, ſeduced and debauched by the ſhameful means employed by every ſtate to increaſe their armies? What need has ſhe of thoſe beings ſtill more miſerable, of whom ſhe compoſes the third claſs of her American inhabitants? Yes, by an iniquity the more ſhocking as it is apparently the leſs neceſſary; her northern colonies have had recourſe to the traffic, and ſlavery of the negroes. It will not be diſowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, leſs ill-treated, and leſs overburthened with toil than in the iſlands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they ſeldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But ſtill what muſt be the burthen of a man's life who is condemned to languiſh in eternal ſlavery? Some humane ſectaries, chriſtians who look for virtues in the goſpel,

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pel, more than for opinions, have often been desirous of reſtoring to their ſlaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compenſation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the ſtate, which directed that an aſſignment of a ſufficiency for ſubſiſtence ſhould be made to thoſe who were ſet at liberty.

Let us rather ſay, they have been prevented from doing this by the convenient cuſtom of being waited on by ſlaves; by the fondneſs they have for power, which they attempt to juſtify by pretending to alleviate their ſervitude; and by the opinion ſo readily entertained that they do not complain of a ſtate, which is by time changed into nature: theſe are the ſophiſms of ſelf-love, calculated to appeaſe the clamours of conſcience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil diſpoſitions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among thoſe whom nature ſeems to have formed juſt and good, there are but few who poſſeſs a ſoul ſufficiently diſintereſted, courageous and great, to do any good action, if they muſt ſacrifice ſome advantage for it.

But ſtill the quakers have lately ſet an example which ought to make an epocha in the hiſtory of religion and humanity. In one of their aſſemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himſelf moved by the impulſe of the holy ſpirit; has a right of ſpeaking; one of the brethren, who was himſelf undoubtedly inſpired on this occaſion, aroſe and ſaid: "How long then

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" ſhall we have two conſciences, two meaſures, BOOK
" two ſcales; one in our own favour, one for the XVIII.
" ruin of our neighbour, both equally falſe? Is it
" for us, brethren, to complain at this moment,
" that the parliament of England wiſhes to en-
" ſlave us, and to impoſe upon us the yoke of
" ſubjects, without leaving us the rights of ci-
" tizens; while for this century paſt, we have
" been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by keep-
" ing in bonds of the hardeſt ſlavery men who
" are our equals and our brethren? What have
" thoſe unhappy men done to us, whom nature
" had ſeparated from us by barriers ſo formidable,
" whom our avarice has ſought after through
" ſtorms and wrecks, and brought away from the
" midſt of their burning ſands, or from their dark
" foreſts inhabited by tygers? What crime have
" they been guilty of, that they ſhould be torn
" from a country which fed them without toil,
" and that they ſhould be tranſplanted by us to a
" land where they periſh under the labours of ſer-
" vitude? Father of Heaven, what family haſt
" Thou then created, in which the elder born,
" after having ſeized on the property of their bre-
" thren, are ſtill reſolved to compel them, with
" ſtripes, to manure with the blood of their veins
" and the ſweat of their brow that very inheritance
" of which they have been robbed? Deplorable
" race, whom we render brutes to tyrannize over
" them; in whom we extinguiſh every power of
" the ſoul, to load their limbs and their bodies

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" with burthens; in whom we efface the image of " God, and the ſtamp of manhood. A race mu- " tilated and diſhonoured as to the faculties of " mind and body, throughout its exiſtence, by " us who are chriſtians and Engliſhmen! Eng- " liſhmen, ye people favoured by Heaven, and " reſpected on the ſeas, would ye be free and ty- " rants at the ſame inſtant? No, brethren! it is " time we ſhould be conſiſtent with ourſelves. " Let us ſet free thoſe miſerable victims of our " pride: let us reſtore the negroes to that liberty, " which man ſhould never take from man. May " all chriſtian ſocieties be induced by our example " to repair an injuſtice authorized by the crimes " and plunders of two centuries! May men too " long degraded, at length raiſe to Heaven their " arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed " in tears of gratitude! Alas! theſe unhappy " mortals have hitherto ſhed no tears but thoſe of " deſpair!"

THIS diſcourſe awakened remorſe, and the ſlaves in Penſylvania were ſet at liberty. A revolution ſo amazing muſt neceſſarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect ſimilar inſtances of heroiſm in thoſe countries which are as deep ſunk in barbariſm by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been from ignorance. When a government, at once both prieſtly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke; when man, become an impoſtor,

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has perſuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppreſſing the earth; there is no ſhadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why ſhould they not take their revenge on the ſavage people of the torrid zone?

Not to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 ſlaves, in 1750 a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the Britiſh provinces of North America. There muſt be at preſent upwards of two millions; ſince it is proved by undeniable calculations that the number of people doubles every 15 or 16 years in ſome of thoſe provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increaſe muſt have two ſources; the firſt is that number of Iriſhmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in ſearch of peace and quietneſs in theſe diſtant climates. The ſecond ſource of that amazing increaſe ariſes from the climate itſelf of the colonies, where experience has ſhewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. The obſervations of Mr. Franklin will make theſe truths evident.

Preſent ſtate of population in the Engliſh provinces of North America.

The numbers of the people, ſays that philoſopher, increaſe every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increaſes as the means of ſubſiſting a family are rendered more eaſy. In a country where the means of ſubſiſtence

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ſiſtence abound, more people marry early. In a ſociety, whoſe proſperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, engage as late as poſſible in a ſtate, which it is difficult to enter into, and expenſive to maintain; and the perſons, who have no fortunes, paſs their days in a celibacy which diſturbs the married ſtate. The maſters have but few children, the ſervants have none at all; and the artificers are afraid of having any. This circumſtance is ſo evident, eſpecially in great towns, that the population in them is not kept up to its uſual ſtandard, and that we conſtantly find there are a greater number of deaths than births. Happily for us this decreaſe has not yet penetrated into the country, where the conſtant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns, gives a little more ſcope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the higheſt rate, thoſe who cannot acquire property of their own, are hired by thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of it. Rivalſhip, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour, and the ſmallneſs of their profit takes away the deſire and the hope of, as well as the abilities requiſite for increaſe by marriage. Such is the preſent ſtate of Europe.

THAT of America preſents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waſte and uncultivated, are either given away, or may be obtained for ſo moderate a price, that a man of the leaſt turn for labour, is furniſhed in a ſhort time with

with an extent, which while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewise by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America, and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the new hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that in less than two centuries, the British northern colonies will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless the mother country should contrive some obstacles to impede its natural progress.

Happiness of the inhabitants in the British colonies of North America.

They are now peopled with healthy and robust men, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles are more lively and come to their full growth sooner than the Europeans: but do not live so long. The inhabitants are supplied with great plenty of every thing requisite for food, by the low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, cyder, vegetables. Clothing is not so easily procured, that being still very dear, whether it be brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, who are not yet polished nor corrupted by residing in great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns oeconomy, neatness, and regularity

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gularity. Gallantry and gaming, the paſſions of indolent opulence, ſeldom interrupt that happy tranquillity. The ſex are ſtill what they ſhould be, gentle, modeſt, compaſſionate, and uſeful; they are in poſſeſſion of thoſe virtues which perpetuate the empire of their charms. The men are engaged in their firſt occupations, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the ſupport of their poſterity. One general ſentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union ſo much as a certain equality of ſtation, a ſecurity that ariſes from property, hope, and a general facility of increaſing it; in a word, nothing contributes to it ſo much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with reſpect to their wants, joined to the neceſſity of ſocial connections for the purpoſes of their pleaſures. Inſtead of luxury, which brings miſery in its train, inſtead of this afflicting and ſhocking contraſt, an univerſal eaſe wiſely dealt out in the original diſtribution of the lands, has by the influence of induſtry given riſe in every breaſt to the mutual deſire of pleaſing; a deſire, without doubt, more ſatisfactory than the ſecret diſpoſition to injure our brethren, which is inſeparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without ſatisfaction when they are neither in that ſtate of mutual diſtance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalſhip which borders on hatred. They come nearer together and unite in ſocieties; in ſhort it

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is in the colonies that men lead ſuch a rural life as was the original deſtination of mankind, beſt ſuited to the health and increaſe of the ſpecies: probably they enjoy all the happineſs conſiſtent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there thoſe graces, thoſe talents, thoſe refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the ſprings of the ſoul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which ſo naturally follow the diſguſt ariſing from ſenſual enjoyment: but there are the pleaſures of domeſtic life, the mutual attachments of parent and children, and conjugal love, that paſſion ſo pure and ſo delicious to the ſoul that can taſte it, and deſpiſe all other gratifications. This is the enchanting proſpect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the foreſts of Canada, that men are enabled to continue in love during their whole life what was the object of their firſt affection, that innocence and virtue, which never entirely loſe their beauty.

If there be any circumſtance wanting to the happineſs of Britiſh America, it is that of forming one entire nation. Families are there found ſometimes re-united, ſometimes diſperſed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. Theſe coloniſts, in whatever ſpot chance or diſcernment may have placed them, all preſerve with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother tongue, the partialities and the cuſtoms of their

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own country. Separate ſchools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hoſpitable people, who afford them a place of refuge. Still eſtranged from this people by worſhip, by manners, and probably, by their feelings, they harbour ſeeds of diſſention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preſervative againſt this diſaſter depends entirely on the conduct of the governments they belong to.

What kind of government is eſtabliſhed in the Britiſh colonies of North America.

By governments muſt not be underſtood thoſe ſtrange conſtitutions of Europe, which are an abſurd mixture of ſacred and profane laws. Engliſh America was wiſe or happy enough not to admit any eccleſiaſtical power: being from the beginning inhabited by preſbyterians, ſhe rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe are determined by the eccleſiaſtical courts, are here brought before the civil magiſtrate, or the national aſſemblies. The attempts made by the members of the Engliſh church to eſtabliſh their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithſtanding the ſupport given them by the mother country: but ſtill they are equally concerned in the adminiſtration as well as thoſe of other ſects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refuſing thoſe oaths which the public tranquillity ſeemed to require. In this view American government has deſerved

the

the greateſt commendation; but in other reſpects, it is not ſo well combined. BOOK XVIII.

POLICY, in its aim and principal object reſembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and ſhould be in ſeveral reſpects ſimilar to each other. Savage people, firſt united in ſociety, require as much as children to be ſometimes led on by gentle means, and ſometimes reſtrained by compulſion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reaſon, as theſe ſavages are incapable of governing themſelves in the ſeveral changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a riſing ſociety, the government that conducts them ſhould itſelf be enlightened, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Thus it is that barbarous nations are naturally ſubject to the oppreſſive yoke of deſpotic power, till in the advanced ſtate of ſociety their intereſts teach them to conduct themſelves.

CIVILIZED nations, like young men, more or leſs advanced not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as ſoon as they become ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and right, require to be managed and even attended to by their governors. A ſon well educated ſhould engage in no undertaking without conſulting his father: a prince on the contrary, ſhould make no regulations without conſulting his people: further, the ſon, in reſolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing

BOOK XVIII. but his own happineſs; in all that a prince ordains, the happineſs of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and ſpeaks, is the rule of the government: and the prince ſhould never thwart that opinion without public reaſons, nor oppoſe it without having firſt convinced the people of their error. Government is to model all its forms according to public opinion: this it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may without finding the leaſt reſiſtance do an act of authority, not to be revived by his ſucceſſor, without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference ariſe? The firſt cannot have thwarted an opinion that was not ſprung up in his time, but the latter may have openly counteracted it a century after. The firſt, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, may, without the knowledge of the public, have taken a ſtep the violence of which he may have ſoftened or made amends for by the happy ſucceſs of his government; the other, ſhall, perhaps, have increaſed the public calamities by ſuch unjuſt acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its firſt abuſes. Public remonſtrance is generally the reſult of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government: and becauſe public opinion governs mankind, kings for this reaſon become the rulers of men. Governments then as well as opinions ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened

ened people? It is the permanent intereſt of ſociety, the ſafety and advantage of the nation. This intereſt is modified by the turn of events and ſituations; public opinion and the form of the government follow theſe ſeveral modifications. This is the ſource of all the forms of government, eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, who are rational and free, throughout North America. BOOK XVIII.

THE government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jerſey, Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia is ſtiled royal; becauſe the king of England is there veſted with the ſupreme authority. Repreſentatives of the people form a lower houſe, as in the mother country: a ſelect council, approved by the king, intended to ſupport the prerogatives of the crown, repreſents the houſe of peers, and maintains that repreſentation by the fortune and rank of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and diſſolves their aſſemblies; gives or refuſes aſſent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are tranſmitted, has rejected them.

THE ſecond kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of proprietary government. When the Engliſh firſt ſettled in thoſe diſtant regions, a rapacious and active court favourite eaſily obtained in thoſe waſtes, which were as large as kingdoms, a pro-

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perty and authority without bounds. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or governing as he pleased in an unknown country: such was the origin of government, in the greater part of the colonies. At present, Maryland and Pensylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government; or rather this irregular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pensylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council which gives a kind of superiority, and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A third form, stiled by the English, charter government, seems more calculated to produce harmony in the constitution. At present this subsists only in Connecticut and Rhode Island; but it was formerly extended to all the provinces in New-England. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect, and depose all their officers, and make whatever laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of

of legiſlation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Thoſe provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and conſequently abſolute authority. Without any right to aſſemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every order of government. BOOK XVIII.

This diverſity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find in it the traces of a reaſonable, uniform and regular legiſlation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies that have produced this motley variety of conſtitutions. It is not the province of men, who are caſt by chance upon a deſert coaſt, to conſtitute legiſlation.

All legiſlation, in its nature, ſhould aim at the happineſs of ſociety. The means by which it is to attain this great end, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to ſay, the ſky and the ſoil, are the firſt rule for the legiſlator. His reſources dictate to him his duties. In the firſt inſtance, the local poſition ſhould be conſulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coaſt, will have laws more or leſs relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the ſea or land may have on the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants who are to people that deſert coaſt. If the new colony is led by the courſe of ſome large river far within land, a legiſlator ought to have regard to the quality of the ſoil, and the

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degree of its fertility, as well as to the connections the colony will have either at home or abroad by the traffic of commodities moſt conducive to its proſperity.

But the wiſdom of legiſlation will chiefly appear in the diſtribution of property. It is a general rule, which obtains in all countries, that when a colony is founded, an extent of land be given to every perſon ſufficient for the maintenance of a family; more ſhould be given to thoſe who have abilities to make the neceſſary advances towards improvement; and ſome ſhould be reſerved for poſterity, or for additional ſettlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

The firſt object of a riſing colony is ſubſiſtence and population: the next is the proſperity likely to flow from theſe two ſources. To avoid occaſions of war, whether offenſive or defenſive; to turn induſtry towards thoſe objects which are moſt advantageous; not to form connections around them, except ſuch as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the ſtability which the colony acquires by the numbers of its inhabitants, and the nature of its reſources; to introduce above all things a partial and local ſpirit in a nation which is going to be eſtabliſhed, a ſpirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every inſtitution to a diſtant but fixed point; and to make every occaſional law ſubſervient to the ſettled regulation which alone is to effect an increaſe of numbers, and to give ſtability to the ſettlement: theſe circumſtances

cumſtances make no more than the ſketch of a legiſlation. BOOK XVIII.

THE moral ſyſtem is to be formed on the nature of the climate; a large field for population is at firſt to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring ſubſiſtence. Sanctity of manners ſhould be eſtabliſhed by opinion. In a barbarous iſland, which is to be ſtocked with children, no more would be neceſſary than to leave the principles of truth to unfold themſelves with the natural progreſs of reaſon. By proper precautions againſt thoſe idle fears, which proceed from ignorance, the errors of ſuperſtition ſhould be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural paſſions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, diſſipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be eſtabliſhed in a new country, the ability of legiſlation conſiſts in removing every injurious opinion or habit, which may be cured or corrected. If we wiſh that theſe ſhould not be tranſmitted to poſterity, we ſhould attend to the ſecond generation by inſtituting a general and public education of the children. A prince or legiſlator ſhould never found a colony, without previouſly ſending thither ſome proper perſons for the education of youth; that is, ſome governors rather than teachers: for it is of leſs moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education is ineffectual, when the people are already corrupted. The ſeeds of morality

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rality and virtue, ſown in the infant ſtate of a generation already vitiated, are annihilated in the early ſtages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of ſuch vices as have already become habitual in ſociety. The beſt educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and forming connections which will wholly influence them during the remainder of their lives. If they marry, follow any profeſſion, or purſuit, they find the ſeeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition; a conduct entirely oppoſite to their principles; example and diſcourſe which diſconcerts and combats their beſt reſolutions.

But in a riſing colony, the influence of the firſt generation may be corrected by the manners of the ſucceeding one. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The neceſſities of life remove all vices proceeding from want of employment. The overflowing of its population have a natural tendency towards the mother country, where luxury continually invites and ſeduces the rich and voluptuous planter. A legiſlator, who intends to refine the conſtitution and manners of a colony, will meet with every aſſiſtance he can require. If he is only poſſeſſed of abilities and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will ſuggeſt to his mind a plan of ſociety, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheſes that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumſtances too difficult to be foreſeen and combined.

But

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But the chief baſis of a ſociety for cultivation or commerce, is property. It is the ſeed of good and evil, natural or moral, conſequent on the ſocial ſtate. Every nation ſeems to be divided into two irreconcileable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property, and the hirelings, that is to ſay, maſters and ſlaves, form two claſſes of citizens, unfortunately in oppoſition to one another. In vain have ſome modern authors wiſhed by ſophiſtry to eſtabliſh a treaty of peace between theſe two ſtates. The rich on all occaſions are diſpoſed to obtain a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to ſet too high a value on their labour: while the rich man muſt always give the law in this too unequal bargain. Hence ariſes the ſyſtem of counterpoiſe eſtabliſhed in ſo many countries. The people have not wiſhed to attack property which they conſidered as ſacred, but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to univerſal power. Theſe counterpoiſes have almoſt always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy againſt the original evil in ſociety. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legiſlator will turn his principal attention. The more wiſely that diſtribution ſhall be managed, the more ſimple, uniform and exact will be thoſe laws of the country which chiefly conduce to the preſervation of property.

The Engliſh colonies partake, in this reſpect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient conſtitution

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tion of the mother country. As its preſent government is but a reformation of that feudal ſyſtem which had oppreſſed all Europe, it ſtill retains many uſages, which being originally nothing more than abuſes of ſervitude, are ſtill more ſenſibly felt by their contraſt with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found neceſſary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility to thoſe which modify, leſſen; abrogate or ſoften the feudal rights. Hence ſo many laws of exception for one original law; ſo many of interpretation for one fundamental; ſo many new laws that are at variance with the old. Hence it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code ſo diffuſe, ſo perplexed as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wiſeſt men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed againſt this diſorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonſtrances, have only ſerved to increaſe the confuſion.

By their dependence and their ignorance the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digeſted code, the burden of which oppreſſed their anceſtors: they have added to that obſcure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has reſulted a chaos the moſt difficult to put in order; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there ſprang up a numerous body of lawyers to

prey

prey upon the lands and inhabitants of thoſe new ſettled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a ſhort time, have brought into ſubjection to their rapaciouſneſs the valuable claſs of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and labours moſt indiſpenſably neceſſary for every ſociety; but almoſt ſingularly eſſential to a riſing community. To the ſevere evil of chicane, which has fixed itſelf on the branches, in order to ſeize on the fruit, has ſucceeded that of finance, which deſtroys the heart and the root of the tree.

The coin current in the Engliſh colonies in North America.

In the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the ſame value as in the mother country. The ſcarcity of it ſoon occaſioned a riſe of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of ſpecie which came from the Spaniſh colonies; becauſe it was neceſſary to tranſmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandiſe wanted from thence. This was a gulph that abſorbed the circulation in the colonies. The confuſion occaſioned by this continual export furniſhed a pretence for the uſe of paper currency.

There are two ſorts of it. The firſt has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade and induſtry. Every coloniſt who has more ambition than wealth, obtains from the province a paper credit, provided he conſents to pay an intereſt of 5 per cent. furniſhes a ſufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this mark, which is received

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ceived without dispute into the public treasury, and which their fellow-citizens cannot refuse, the business of private persons is carried on with greater dispatch and ease. The government itself draws considerable advantages from this circulation; because as it receives interest and pays none, it can without the aid of taxes apply this fund to the important object of public utility.

But there is another sort of paper, the existence of which is solely owing to the necessities of government. The several provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were imposed to liquidate those bills that pressed for payment; but before the taxes had produced that salutary effect, new wants arose that required fresh loans. The debts therefore accumulated, and the taxes were not sufficient to answer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hostilities, during which the colonies had raised and provided for 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of so long and obstinate a war. The paper thus fell into the utmost disrepute, though it had been introduced by the consent of the several general assemblies, and each province was to be answerable for what was of its own creation.

The parliament of Great Britain observed this confusion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper currency each colony

ny ſhould create for the future, and as far as their information went, proportioned the quantity of it to their riches and reſources. This regulation gave univerſal diſguſt, and in the year 1769, it was amended. BOOK XVIII.

PAPER, of the uſual figure of the coin, ſtill continues to paſs in all kind of buſineſs. Each piece is compoſed of two round leaves, glued to each other, and bearing on each ſide the ſtamp that diſtinguiſhes them. There are ſome of every value. In each province beſides a public building for the making of them, there are private houſes from whence they are diſtributed: the pieces which are much worn or ſoiled, are carried to theſe houſes, and freſh ones received in exchange. There never has been an inſtance of the officers employed in theſe exchanges having been guilty of the leaſt fraud.

BUT this honeſty is not ſufficient to inſure the proſperity of the colonies. Though for forty years their conſumption has increaſed four times as much as their population, (from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each ſubject are four times greater than they were) yet one may foretel that theſe large eſtabliſhments will never riſe to that degree of ſplendour for which nature deſigns them, unleſs the reſtraints are removed, which confine both their interior induſtry and their foreign trade.

THE

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The Engliſh colonies in North America are ſhackled in their induſtry and commerce.

THE firſt coloniſts that peopled North America applied themſelves ſolely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted, and they, therefore, found themſelves in a manner compelled to ſet up ſome rude manufactures. The intereſts of the mother country ſeemed to be affected by this innovation; which was made a matter of parliamentary inquiry, and diſcuſſed with all the attention it deſerved. There were men bold enough to defend the cauſe of the coloniſts. They urged, that as the buſineſs of tillage did not employ men all the year, it was tyranny to oblige them to waſte in idleneſs the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furniſh them to the extent of their wants, the preventing them from providing againſt them by a new ſpecies of induſtry, was in fact reducing them to the greateſt diſtreſs: in ſhort, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to enhance the price of all proviſions in a riſing ſtate, to leſſen, or, perhaps, ſtop the ſale of them, and to deter ſuch perſons as might intend to ſettle in it.

THE evidence of theſe principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themſelves, but with ſuch reſtrictions as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of juſtice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another

another on this account was ſeverely prohibited. They were forbidden under the heavieſt penalties to traffic with each other for wool of any ſort, raw, or manufactured. However, ſome manufacturers of hats ventured to break through theſe reſtrictions. To put a ſtop to what was termed a heinous diſorderly practice, the parliament had recourſe to the mean and cruel expedient of law. A workman was not at liberty to ſet up for himſelf till after ſeven years apprenticeſhip; a maſter was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any ſlave in his workſhop.

Iron mines, which ſeem to put into mens hands the inſtruments of their own independence, were laid under reſtrictions ſtill more ſevere. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough pieces any where but to the mother country. Without being provided with crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to faſhion it, they had ſtill leſs liberty of converting it into ſteel.

Importation was ſubjected to ſtill further reſtraints. All foreign veſſels, unleſs in evident diſtreſs or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or ſilver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even Engliſh veſſels are not admitted there, unleſs they come immediately from ſome port of the country. The ſhips of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandiſe but from the mother country, except

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wine from the Madeiras and the Azores, and ſalt for their fiſheries.

All exportations were originally to terminate in England: but important reaſons have determined the government to relax and abate this extreme ſeverity. The coloniſts are at preſent allowed to carry directly ſouth of Cape-Finiſterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, ſalt, fiſh, planks, and timber. All other productions belong excluſively to the mother country. Even Ireland that afforded an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe ſtaves, has been ſhut againſt them by an act of parliament of 1766.

The parliament, which repreſents the nation, aſſumes the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the Britiſh dominions. It is by this authority it pretends to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action between the ſcattered parts of the immenſe empire. There ſhould, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the concerns that may be uſeful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole ſociety. The parliament is the only body that can aſſume ſuch an important power. But it ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of ſociety. This is an inviolable maxim, eſpecially in a ſtate where all the powers are formed and directed for the preſervation of natural liberty.

That

That principle of impartiality was unattended to, which alone can maintain an equal ſtate of independence among the ſeveral members of a free government; when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even thoſe which were not for its own conſumption: when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandiſe, even thoſe which came from foreign nations. This imperious and uſeleſs reſtraint, loading the ſales and purchaſes of the Americans with unneceſſary and ruinous charges, has neceſſarily leſſened their induſtry, and conſequently diminiſhed their profits; and it has been only for the purpoſe of enriching a few merchants, or ſome factors at home, that the rights and intereſts of the colonies have thus been ſacrified. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was only a preference in the ſale and importation of all ſuch of their commodities as ſhe ſhould conſume; and a preference in the purchaſe and in the exportation of all ſuch merchandiſe as came from her hands: ſo far all ſubmiſſion was a return of gratitude; beyond it all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Tranſgreſſion is the firſt effect produced by unreaſonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that ſmuggling was contrary to the fundamental intereſt of their ſettlements, to all reaſon of government, and to the expreſs intentions of law. In

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vain has it been continually laid down in public writings that the ſubject who pays duty is oppreſſed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by diſappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing ſuch frauds, and freſh penalties inflicted for the puniſhment of them. The voice of intereſt, reaſon and equity has prevailed over all the numberleſs clamours and various attempts of finance. Foreign importations ſmuggled into North America, amount to one third of thoſe which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely reſtrained within proper limits, will ſtop the prohibited engagements of which ſo much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a ſtate of affluence, which will enable them to diſcharge a load of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 150 millions*, and to draw yearly from thence goods to the amount of 108 millions †, agreeable to the calculation of American conſumption ſtated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But inſtead of this pleaſing proſpect, which one would imagine muſt naturally ariſe from the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, was there any neceſſity by a claim not to be ſupported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies with the hardſhips of taxation, the ſeeds of diſorder and diſcord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is not ſo eaſy to extinguiſh as to light up.

ENGLAND

* 6,562,500l. † 4,725,000l.

The mother country has attempted to eſtabliſh taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether ſhe had a right to do this?

England had juſt emerged from a war, which may be called univerſal, during which her fleets had been victorious in all the ſeas, and her conqueſts had enlarged her dominion with an immenſe territory in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. Such a ſudden increaſe gave her in the eyes of all the world a ſplendour that muſt inevitably excite envy and admiration; but within herſelf ſhe was continually obliged to lament her triumphs. Oppreſſed with a load of debt to the amount of 3,330,000,000 livres*, that coſt her an intereſt of 111,577,490 livres† a year, ſhe was with difficulty able to ſupport the current expences of the ſtate, with a revenue of 240,000,000 livres‡; and that revenue was ſo far from increaſing, that it was not even certain it would continue.

The land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houſes and windows reduced the value of that kind of property; and an increaſe of ſtock on a review of the finances ſunk the value of the whole. A terror had been ſtruck even into luxury itſelf by taxes laid on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. Commerce could not raiſe any further expectations, ſince it paid in every port, at every iſſue, for the merchandiſe of Aſia, for the produce of America, for ſpices, ſilks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. Heavy duties had fortunately re-

* 145,687,500l. † 4,881,515l. 3s. 9d.

‡ 10,500,000l.

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ſtrained the abuſes of ſpirituous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. To compenſate this loſs, one of thoſe expedients was adopted which are always eaſily found, but dangerous to chuſe from the articles of general conſumption, and abſolute neceſſity. Duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. Every ſpring was ſtrained: every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmoſt ſtretch. Materials and workmanſhip had ſo prodigiouſly riſen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals, or conquered, which before had not been able to ſupport a competition with the Engliſh, were enabled to ſupplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantage of Britain with every part of the world could not be valued at more than fifty-ſix millions of livres*, and that ſituation obliged her to draw from the balance 35,100,000 livres †, to pay the arrears of 1,170,000,000 livres‡ which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

THE criſis was a violent one. It was time to give the people ſome relief. They could not be eaſed by a diminution of expences, thoſe being inevitable, either for the purpoſe of improving the conqueſts purchaſed by ſuch a loſs of blood and treaſure; or to reſtrain the reſentment of the Houſe of Bourbon, ſoured by the humiliations of the late war, and the ſacrifices of the late peace. As

* 2,450,000l. † 1,535,625l. ‡ 51,187,500l.

As other means did not occur that might ſecure the preſent as well as future proſperity of the nation, it was thought proper to call in the colonies to the aid of the mother country, by making them bear a part of her burthen. This determination ſeemed to be founded on reaſons not to be controverted.

It is a fundamental principle of all ſocieties and of every age, that the different members which compoſe a ſtate, ought to contribute towards all its expences in proportion to their reſpective abilities. The ſecurity of the American provinces requires that they ſhould furniſh ſuch a ſhare of aſſiſtance, as may enable the mother country to protect them upon all occaſions. It was to deliver them from the moleſtations they were expoſed to, that England had engaged in a war which has multiplied her debts: they ought then to aid her in bearing or leſſening the weight of that increaſe of expence. At preſent, when they are freed from all apprehenſion of the attempts of a formidable adverſary, which has been fortunately removed, can they without injuſtice refuſe their deliverer, when her neceſſities are preſſing, that money which purchaſed their preſervation? Has not that generous ſtate, for a conſiderable time, granted encouragement to the improvement of their rich productions? Has it not liberally and gratuitouſly advanced ſums of money to thoſe countries whoſe lands are yet uncultivated? Do

BOOK XVIII. not such benefits deserve to meet a return of relief and even of services?

Such were the motives that persuaded the British government that they had a right to establish taxation in the colonies. They availed themselves of the event of the late war to assert this claim so dangerous to liberty. For if we attend to it, we shall find that war, whether successful or not, serves always as a pretext for every usurpation of government; as if the chiefs of warring nations rather intended to reduce their subjects to more confirmed submission, than to make a conquest over their enemies. The American provinces were therefore ordered to furnish the troops sent by the mother country for their security with a part of the necessaries requisite for an army. The apprehension of disturbing that agreement which is so necessary among ourselves, when surrounded by adversaries from without, induced them to comply with the injunctions of the parliament; but with such prudence as not to speak of an act they could neither reject without occasioning civil dissention, nor recognize without exposing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to disapprove the orders sent from Europe. Though the transgression was slight, it was punished as a disobedience by a suspension of her privileges.

It was most probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony would excite the remonstrances of all the rest. Either through want of attention

attention or foreſight, none of them complained. This ſilence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary ſubmiſſion. Peace, that ſhould leſſen taxes every where, gave birth in the year 1764 to that famous ſtamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all marked paper, at the ſame time forbad the uſe of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extra-judicial.

All the Engliſh colonies of the new continent revolted againſt this innovation, and their diſcontent manifeſted itſelf by ſignal acts. They entered into an agreement or conſpiracy, the only one that was perhaps conſiſtent with moderate and civilized people, to forego all manufactures made up in the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women, whoſe weakneſs was moſt to be feared, were the firſt to give up whatever Europe had before furniſhed them with, either for parade or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted to the old world. In the northern countries, they paid as much for the coarſe ſtuffs, made in the country, as for fine cloaths which were brought over the ſeas. They engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increaſe, and in time be ſufficient for the clothing of all the coloniſts. In the ſouthern provinces where wool is ſcarce and of an inferior quality, their dreſs was to be cotton and flax furniſhed by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected,

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neglected, in order that the people might qualify themſelves for the buſineſs of the manufactures.

This kind of indirect and paſſive oppoſition, which ought to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exerciſe of authority, produced the deſired effect. The Engliſh manufacturers who had ſcarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that ſtate of deſpondency, which is the natural conſequence of want of employment: and their complaints which could neither be ſtifled nor concealed by adminiſtration, made an impreſſion which proved favourable to the colonies. The ſtamp-act was repealed after a violent ſtruggle that laſted two years, and which in an age of fanaticiſm, would, doubtleſs, have occaſioned a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies did not laſt long. The parliament had given up the point with the greateſt reluctance: and it clearly appeared they had not laid aſide their pretenſions, when in 1767, they threw the duties which the ſtamp act would have produced, upon all glaſs, lead, tea, colours, paſteboard, and ſtained paper exported from England to America. Even the patriots themſelves who ſeemed moſt inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which in its conſequences muſt affect the whole nation, by diſpoſing numbers to apply themſelves to manufactures, who ought to have been ſolely devoted

devoted to the improvement of lands. The co- BOOK
loniſts have not been the dupes of this, any more XVIII.
than of the firſt innovation. It has in vain been
urged that government had the power to impoſe
what duties it thought proper upon exported
goods, ſo long as it did not deprive the colonies
of the liberty of manufacturing the articles ſub-
ject to this new tax. This ſubterfuge has been
conſidered as an inſult with regard to a people
who being devoted entirely to agriculture, and
confined to trade only with the mother country,
could not procure either by their own labour, or
by their connections abroad, the neceſſary articles
that were ſold them at ſo high a price. They
thought when a tax was to be impoſed, it was no-
thing more than a nominal diſtinction, whether it
were levied in Europe, or America; and that
their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid
upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax
upon ſtampt paper, which they had been made to
conſider as a neceſſary article. Theſe intelligent
people ſaw that government was inclined to de-
ceive them, and thought it an indignity to ſuffer
themſelves to be the dupes either of force, or of
fraud. It appeared to them the ſureſt mark of
weakneſs and degeneracy in the ſubjects of any
nation, to overlook all the artful and violent mea-
ſures adopted by government to corrupt and en-
ſlave them.

The diſlike they have ſhewn to theſe new im-
poſts, was not founded on the idea of their being
exorbitant,

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exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than one livre, 8 ſols * for each perſon: which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whoſe public expence never exceeded the annual ſum of 3,600,000 livres †.

It was not from any apprehenſion that their fortunes would be affected by it: ſince the ſecurity they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the laſt war; the increaſe of their trade with the ſavages; the enlargement of their whale and cod fiſheries, together with thoſe of the ſhark and the ſeal; the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy; the acquiſition of ſeveral ſugar iſlands; the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spaniſh ſettlements: all theſe advantageous circumſtances were abundantly ſufficient to furniſh the ſmall proportion of revenue which government ſeemed ſo anxious to raiſe.

It was not owing to their concern leſt the colonies ſhould be drained of the ſmall quantity of ſpecie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thouſand four hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother country in North America, muſt bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

Neither was it an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have demonſtrated ſo zealous an attachment to her intereſts during the laſt war, that par-

* About 1s. 3d. † 157,500l.

parliament had the equity to order conſiderable ſums to be remitted to them by way of reſtitution, or indemnification. BOOK XVIII.

Nor, laſtly, was it from ignorance of the obligations that ſubjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themſelves bound to contribute towards the payment of the national debt, though they had, perhaps, been the occaſion of contracting the greateſt part of it; they knew very well that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American ſettlements; and to all the common expences relative to their own preſervation and proſperity, as well as to that of the mother country.

If the Americans refuſe to lend their aſſiſtance to Europe, it is becauſe what would have been granted if aſked, was exacted from them; and becauſe what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raiſed by voluntary contribution. Their refuſal was not the effect of caprice, but of jealouſy of their rights, which have been aſcertained in ſome judicious writings, and more particularly in ſome eloquent letters, from which we ſhall borrow the principal facts we are going to ſtate on a ſubject which muſt be intereſting to every nation on the globe.

During almoſt two centuries that have paſſed ſince the Engliſh eſtabliſhed themſelves in North America, their country has been harraſſed by expenſive and bloody wars; thrown into confuſion by

enter-

BOOK XVIII. enterprising and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt ministry, ever ready to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raise their own taxes for the support of the public revenue hath on all hands been acknowledged and regarded.

THIS privilege so natural and consonant to the fundamental principles of all rational society, was confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authorise them to tax themselves freely and voluntarily. These acts were, in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but even supposing the prince had exceeded his authority by making concessions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, long possession tacitly owned and acknowledged by the silence of parliament, must constitute a legal prescription.

THE American provinces have still more authentic claims to urge in their favour. They assert, that a subject of England, in whatever hemisphere he resides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the state without his own consent, given either by himself, or his representatives. It is in defence of this sacred right, that the nation have so often spilt her blood, dethroned her kings, and either excited or opposed numberless commotions. Will she chuse to dispute with

two

two millions of her children, an advantage which has coſt her ſo dear, and is, perhaps, the ſole foundation of her own independence? BOOK XVIII.

It is urged againſt the colonies, that the Roman catholics reſiding in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their eſtates are ſubjected to a double tax. The coloniſts aſk in reply, why the papiſts refuſe to take the oath of allegiance required by the ſtate? This conduct makes them ſuſpected by government, and the jealouſy it excites, authoriſes that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion ſo contrary to the free conſtitution of their country, ſo favourable to the inhuman claims of deſpotiſm, and to the attempts of the crown againſt the rights of the people? Why that blind preposſeſſion in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? They deſerve the penalties which the ſtate that tolerates them impoſes upon ſubjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be puniſhed without having offended, if they were not able to become ſubjects without ceaſing to be Americans.

These faithful colonies have likewiſe been told with ſome confidence, that there are multitudes of ſubjects in England who are not repreſented; becauſe they have not the property required to intitle them to vote at an election for members of parliament. What ground have they to expect any greater privileges than thoſe enjoyed by the ſubjects of the mother country? The colonies, in

anſwer

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anſwer to this, deny that they wiſh for ſuperior indulgences; they only want to ſhare them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain a perſon who enjoys a freehold of forty ſhillings a year, is conſulted in the framing of a tax-bill, and ſhall not the man who poſſeſſes an immenſe tract of land in America have the ſame privilege? No. That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule of the mother country ought not to become a fundamental point of conſtitution for the colonies. Let the Engliſh who wiſh to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themſelves, ſuppoſe for a moment, that the houſe of commons, inſtead of being choſen by them, is an hereditary and eſtabliſhed tribunal, or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation without conſulting the public opinion, and the general inclinations of the people, would not the Engliſh look upon themſelves to be as much ſlaves as any other nation? However, even in this caſe, five hundred men, ſurrounded by ſeven millions of their fellow ſubjects, might be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at leaſt, by a well-grounded apprehenſion of the public reſentment, which purſues the oppreſſors of their country even beyond the grave. But the caſe of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother country would be irremediable. At too great diſtance to be heard, they would be oppreſſed with taxes without regard to their complaints.

plaints. Even the tyranny exercised towards them would be varnished over with the glorious appellation of patriotism. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be overburthened with impunity.

Whether the colonies should submit to be taxed.

With this alarming prospect before them, they will never submit to give up the right of taxing themselves. So long as they debate freely on the subject of public revenue, their interests will be attended to; or if their rights should sometimes be violated, they will soon obtain a redress of their grievances. But their remonstrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not supported by the right of granting or refusing supplies towards the exigencies of the state. The same power which will have usurped the right of levying taxes will easily usurp the distribution of them. As it dictates what proportion they shall raise, it will likewise dictate how it shall be expended; and the sums apparently designed for their service, will be employed to enslave them. Such has been the progression of empires in all ages. No society ever preserved its liberty, after it had lost the privilege of voting in the confirmation, or establishment of laws, relative to the revenue. A nation must for ever be enslaved, in which no assembly or body of men remains, who have the power to defend its rights against the encroachments of the state by which it is governed.

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THE provinces in Britiſh America have every reaſon imaginable to dread the loſs of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a ſacrifice to the deſigns of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of honeſt and upright people, who have no ſuſpicion that thoſe who hold the reins of empire can be hurried away by unjuſt and tyrannical paſſions. They take it for granted that their mother country cheriſhes thoſe ſentiments of maternal tenderneſs which are ſo conſonant to her true intereſts, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unſuſpecting credulity of theſe honeſt ſubjects, who cheriſh ſo agreeable a deluſion, may be added the acquieſcence of thoſe who think it unneceſſary to trouble themſelves or be diſturbed on account of inconſiderable taxes. Theſe indolent men are not ſenſible that the plan was, at firſt, to lull their vigilance by impoſing a moderate duty; that England only wanted to eſtabliſh an example of ſubmiſſion, upon which it might ground future pretenſions; that if the parliament has been able to raiſe one guinea, it can raiſe ten thouſand; and that there will be no more reaſon to limit this right, than there would be juſtice in acknowledging it at preſent. But the greateſt injury to liberty ariſes from a ſet of ambitious men, who purſuing an intereſt diſtinct from that of the public and of poſterity, are wholly bent on increaſing their credit, their rank, and their eſtates. The Britiſh miniſtry,

ſtry, from whom they have procured employments, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by the contagion of their luxury and their vices; by their artful inſinuations, and the flexibility of their conduct. BOOK XVIII.

Let all true patriots then firmly oppoſe the ſnares of prejudice, indolence, and ſeduction; nor let them deſpair of being victorious in a conteſt in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to ſhake their fidelity, by the plauſible propoſal of allowing the repreſentatives of America a ſeat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with thoſe of the mother country, the taxes to be raiſed by the nation in general. Such, indeed, is the extent, populouſneſs, wealth, and importance of the colonies, that the legiſlature cannot govern them with wiſdom and ſafety without availing itſelf of the advice and information of their repreſentatives. But care ſhould be taken not to authoriſe theſe deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their conſtituents. The expoſtulations of a few men would be eaſily overborne by the numerous repreſentatives of the mother country; and the provinces, whoſe inſtruments they would be, would, in this confuſed jumble of intereſts and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a part of the common burthen. Let then the right of appointing, proportioning and raiſing the taxes continue to be excluſively veſted

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in the provincial aſſemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the preſent juncture, as the power of depriving them of it ſeems to have gained ſtrength by the conqueſts made in the laſt war.

FROM its late acquiſitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fiſheries, and ſtrengthening her alliance with the ſavages. But as if this ſucceſs was of little importance in her eſtimation, ſhe perſiſts in declaring, that this increaſe of territory has anſwered no end, and produced no effect but to ſecure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreaſed conſiderably in their value by this immenſe extent of territory; that their population being diminiſhed, or, at leaſt, not increaſed, their country is the more expoſed to invaſions; and that the moſt northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the moſt ſouthern by Florida. The coloniſts, who judge of future events by the hiſtory of the paſt, even go ſo far as to ſay, that the military government eſtabliſhed in the conquered provinces; the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enſlave countries, which have hitherto flouriſhed only upon the principles of liberty.

GREAT BRITAIN poſſeſſes all the authority over her colonies that ſhe ought to wiſh for. She has a right to diſannul any laws they ſhall make. The executive

executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates; and in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates at diſcretion all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and purſued by the coloniſts. To ſtrain an authority ſo wiſely tempered, would be to plunge a riſing continent afreſh into that ſtate of confuſion from which it had with difficulty emerged in the courſe of two centuries of inceſſant labour; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the neceſſity of taking up arms in the defence of thoſe ſacred rights to which they are equally intitled by nature, and the laws of ſociety. Shall the Engliſh, who are ſo paſſionately fond of liberty, that they have ſometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and intereſt, forget thoſe ſentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their ſecurity conſpire to render a perpetual obligation? Shall they ſo far betray the rights they hold ſo dear, as to wiſh to enſlave their brethren and their children? If, however, it ſhould happen that the ſpirit of faction ſhould deviſe ſo fatal a deſign, and ſhould, in an hour of madneſs and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country; what ſteps ought the colonies to take to ſave themſelves from a ſtate of the moſt odious dependence?

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How far the colonies ought to carry their oppoſition to Taxation.

BEFORE they engage in this political revolution, they will recall to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. England has always been

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their barrier againſt the powerful nations of Europe: and ſerved as a guide and moderator to watch over ther preſervation, and to heal thoſe civil diſſentions, which jealouſy and rivalſhip too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their riſing ſtate. It is to the influence of its excellent conſtitution that they owe the peace and proſperity they enjoy. While the colonies live under ſo ſalutary and mild an adminiſtration, they will continue to make a rapid progreſs in the vaſt field of improvement that opens itſelf to their view, and which their induſtry will extend to the remoteſt deſerts.

LET the love of their country, however, be accompanied with a certain jealouſy of their liberties; and let their rights be conſtantly examined into, cleared up and diſcuſſed. Let them ever conſider thoſe as the beſt citizens, who are conſtantly calling their attention to theſe points. This ſpirit of jealouſy is proper in all free ſtates; but it is particularly neceſſary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, ſuch as is required in a connection between countries ſeparated by an immenſe ocean. This vigilance will be the ſureſt guardian of the union which ought ſtrongly to cement the mother country and her colonies.

IF the miniſtry which is always compoſed of ambitious men, even in a free ſtate, ſhould attempt to increaſe the power of the crown, or the opulence of the mother country at the expence of the colo-

colonies, the colonies ought to reſiſt ſuch an uſurping power with unremitted ſpirit. When any measure of government meets with a warm oppoſition, it ſeldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are ſuffered for want of courage to redreſs them, are conſtantly ſucceeded by freſh inſtances of oppreſſion. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel, than to reflect; and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exerciſe of that power. Accuſtomed to obey without examination, they, in general, become familiarized to the hardſhips of government; and being ignorant of the origin and deſign of ſociety, do not conceive the idea of ſetting bounds to authority. In thoſe ſtates eſpecially, where the principles of legiſlation are confounded with thoſe of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens a door for the reception of a thouſand among thoſe who have been once deceived; ſo the firſt encroachments of government pave the way for all the reſt. He who believes the moſt, believes the leaſt; and he who can perform the moſt, performs the leaſt: and from this double abuſe of credulity and authority, ariſe all the abſurdities and evils in religion and politics which have been introduced into the world, in order to oppreſs the human ſpecies. The ſpirit of toleration and of liberty which has hitherto prevailed in the Engliſh colonies, has happily preſerved them from falling into this extreme of folly and miſery. They have too high a ſenſe

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BOOK XVIII. of the dignity of human nature not to reſiſt oppreſſion, though at the hazard of their lives.

A PEOPLE ſo intelligent do not want to be told that deſperate reſolutions and violent meaſures cannot be juſtifiable, till they have in vain tried every poſſible method of reconciliation. But at the ſame time, they know that if they are reduced to the neceſſity of chuſing ſlavery or war, and taking up arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarniſh ſo glorious a cauſe with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on ſedition: and though reſolved not to ſheathe the ſword till they have recovered their rights, they ſhould make no other uſe of their victory than to procure the re-eſtabliſhment of their orignal ſtate of legal independence.

LET us, however, take care not to confound the reſiſtance which the Engliſh colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt againſt their ſovereign by a long ſeries of exceſſive oppreſſion. When the ſlaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and ſubmitted their fate to the deciſion of the ſword, they are obliged to maſſacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government, under which they have ſuffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will ſooner or later be puniſhed for having wanted courage to complete the whole of their deſign. The yoke will be impoſed upon them with greater ſeverity than ever; and the affected

fected lenity of their tyrants will only prove a new snare, in which they will be caught and entangled without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an absolute government, that neither prince nor people set any bounds to their resentment; because they know none in the exercise of their power. But a constitution qualified like that of the English colonies, carries in its principles and the limitation of its power, a remedy and preservative against the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints by reinstating them in their former situation, they ought to proceed no further: because such a situation is the happiest that a wise people have a right to aspire to.

Whether it would be of use to the colonies to break thro' the ties which unite them to the mother country.

The colonies could not adopt a plan of absolute independence, without breaking through the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation, interest, trade and habit which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined that such a rupture would not affect the principles, the constitution, and even the existence of the colonies? Though they should not proceed to the violence of civil wars, would they easily agree upon a new form of government? If each settlement composed a distinct state, what divisions would ensue! We may judge of the animosities that would arise from their separation by the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But could it be supposed that so many set-

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settlements, where a diverſity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of poſſeſſions would ſow the latent ſeeds of an oppoſition of intereſts, were deſirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjuſt the rank which each would aſpire to hold, and the influence it ought to have in proportion to the riſque it incurred, and the forces it ſupplied? Would not the ſame ſpirit of jealouſy and a thouſand other paſſions, which in a ſhort time divided the wiſe ſtates of Greece, raiſe diſcord between a multitude of colonies aſſociated rather by the tranſient and brittle ties of paſſion and reſentment, than by the ſober principles of a natural and laſting combination? All theſe conſiderations ſeem to demonſtrate, that an eternal ſeparation from the mother country would prove a very great misfortune to the Engliſh colonies.

Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the Engliſh colonies independent of the mother country.

We will go one ſtep further, and affirm that were it in the power of the European nations who have poſſeſſions in the new world to effect this great revolution, it is not their intereſt to wiſh it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by thoſe powers, who ſee their colonies perpetually threatened with an invaſion from their neighbours. They, doubtleſs, imagine that if the power of the Engliſh in America were leſſened, they ſhould peaceably enjoy their acquiſitions which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hoſtilities. It cannot be denied that their influence in theſe diſtant regions ariſes from the extent or popu-

populouſneſs of their northern provinces: which enable them always to attack with advantage the iſlands and continental poſſeſſions of other nations, to conquer their territories or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has intereſts in other parts of the globe which may counter-act their progreſs in America, reſtrain or retard their enterpriſes, and fruſtrate their conqueſts by the reſtitutions they will be obliged to make.

When the ties ſubſiſting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will have more power when ſingle, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed from all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important, as well as an eaſy undertaking to them, to invade thoſe territories, whoſe riches will make amends for the ſcantineſs of their productions. By the independent nature of its ſituation it will be enabled to get every thing in readineſs for an invaſion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the ſpirit peculiar to new ſocieties. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they pleaſe. Their attacks will always be made upon ſuch coaſts as are liable to be taken by ſurpriſe, and upon thoſe ſeas that are leaſt guarded by foreign powers: who will find the countries they wiſhed to defend conquered before any ſuccours can arrive. It will be impoſſible to recover them

BOOK XVIII. them by treaty, without making great conceſſions; or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the ſame yoke. The colonies belonging to our abſolute monarchies, will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a maſter with open arms, who cannot propoſe harder terms than their own government impoſes; or after the example of the Engliſh colonies, will break the chain that rivets them ſo ignominiouſly to Europe.

LET no motive by any means prevail upon the nations who are rivals to England, either by inſinuations, or by clandeſtine helps, to haſten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a diſtance. Why accelerate an event which muſt one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of ſo many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, ſubject to the ruling nation, ſhould continue unders its dominion, when equal to it in riches, and the number of its inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this diſunion may not happen ſooner? Is it not likely that the diſtruſt and hatred which has of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may conduce to haſten ſuch a ſeparation? Thus every thing conſpires to produce this great diſruption, the æra of which it is impoſſible to know. Every thing tends to this point: the progreſs of

good

good in the new hemiſphere, and the progreſs of evil in the old.

Alas! the ſudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the ſufferings of the people, will make this fatal cataſtrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, univerſal. The foundations of our tottering empires are ſapped; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their deſtruction, compoſed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the ſubverſion of our rights, which were the foundation of our courage; the luxury of our courts, and the miſeries of the country; the laſting animoſity between indolent men who engroſs all the wealth, and vigorous and even virtuous men, who have nothing to loſe but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened and reſign themſelves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flouriſh in America: the arts, tranſplanted by our means, will make a rapid progreſs: and that country riſing out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory in its turn on the face of the globe, and in the hiſtory of the world. O poſterity! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible anceſtors. May this laſt wiſh be accompliſhed, and conſole the preſent expiring race with the hopes that a better will ſucceed to it! But leaving the conſideration of future times, let us take a view of the reſult of three memorable ages. Having ſeen in the beginning

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ning of this work the ſtate of miſery and ignorance in which Europe was plunged in the infancy of America; let us examine to what ſtate the conqueſt of the new world has led and advanced thoſe who have made it. This was the deſign of a book undertaken with the hopes of being uſeful: if the end is anſwered, the author will have diſcharged his duty to the age he lives in, and to ſociety.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK.

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BOOK XIX.

IN the firſt part of this work we endeavoured to deſcribe the ſtate of commerce in Europe before the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. We then proceeded to trace the ſlow, difficult and tyrannical progreſs of the ſettlements formed in thoſe diſtant regions. Our deſign will be concluded, if we can now determine the influence which the intercourſe eſtabliſhed with the new world has had over the morals, government, arts and opinions of the old. Let us begin with religion.

RELIGION in man is the effect of a ſenſe of his misfortunes, and of the fear of inviſible powers. Religion.

MOST legiſlators have availed themſelves of theſe motives to govern the people, and ſtill more to enſlave them. Some of them have aſſerted that they held the right of commanding from heaven itſelf, and it is thus that theocracy has been eſtabliſhed.

IF the religion of the Jews has had a more ſublime origin, it has not been always exempt from thoſe inconveniencies which neceſſarily ariſe from the

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the ambition of prieſts in a theocratic form of government.

CHRISTIANITY ſucceeded the Jewiſh inſtitution. The ſubjection that Rome, miſtreſs of the world, was under to the moſt ſavage tyrants; the dreadful miſeries, which the luxury of a court and the maintenance of armies had occaſioned throughout this vaſt empire under the reign of the Neros; the ſucceſſive irruptions of the barbarians, who diſmembered this great body; the loſs of provinces either by revolt or invaſion: all theſe natural evils had already prepared the minds of men for a new religion, and the changes in politics muſt neceſſarily have induced an innovation in the form of worſhip. In paganiſm, which had exiſted for ſo many ages, there remained only the fables to which it owed its origin, the folly or the vices of its gods, the avarice of its prieſts, and the infamy and licentious conduct of the kings who ſupported them. Then the people deſpairing to obtain relief from their tyrants upon earth, had recourſe to heaven for protection.

CHRISTIANITY appeared, and afforded them comfort at the ſame time that it taught them to ſuffer with patience. While the tyranny and licentiouſneſs of princes, tended to the deſtruction of paganiſm as well as to that of the empire; the ſubjects, who had been oppreſſed and ſpoiled, and who had embraced the new doctrines, were completing its ruin by the examples they gave of thoſe virtues, which always accompany the zeal of new-

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made proſelytes. But a religion that aroſe in the midſt of public calamity, muſt neceſſarily give its preachers a conſiderable influence over the unhappy perſons who took refuge in it. Thus the power of the clergy commenced, as it were, with the goſpel. BOOK XIX.

From the remains of pagan ſuperſtitions and philoſophic ſects a code of rights and tenets was formed, which the ſimplicity of the primitive chriſtians ſanctified with real and affecting piety; but which at the ſame time left the ſeeds of debates and controverſies, from whence aroſe a variety of paſſions diſguiſed under and dignified with the name of zeal. Theſe diſſentions produced ſchools, doctors, a tribunal, and a hierarchy. Chriſtianity had begun to be preached by a ſet of fiſhermen, deſtitute of every knowledge but that of the goſpel; it was entirely eſtabliſhed by biſhops who formed the church. After this it gained ground by degrees, till at length it attracted the notice of the emperors. Some of theſe tolerated chriſtianity either from motives of contempt or humanity; others perſecuted it. Perſecution haſtened its progreſs, for which toleration had paved the way. Connivance and proſcription, clemency and rigour were all equally advantageous to it. The ſenſe of freedom ſo natural to the human mind, induced many perſons to embrace it in its infancy, as it has made others reject it ſince it has been eſtabliſhed. This ſpirit of independence rather adapted to truth than to

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novelty, would neceſſarily have induced a multitude of perſons of all ranks to become converts to chriſtianity, if even the characters it bore had not been calculated to inſpire veneration and reſpect.

CONSTANTINE, inſtead of uniting the prieſthood to the crown, when he was converted to chriſtianity, as they had been united in the perſons of the pagan emperors, granted to the clergy ſuch a ſhare of wealth and authority, and afforded them ſo many means of future aggrandizement, that theſe blind conceſſions produced an eccleaſiaſtical deſpotiſm, which in proceſs of time became intolerable.

THIS deſpotiſm was carried to its greateſt exceſs, when a part of Europe ſhook off the yoke. A monk ſet almoſt all Germany free from it; a prieſt one half of France; and a king one half of England for the ſake of a woman. In other ſtates, many men who choſe to follow their own ideas gave up the tenets of chriſtianity, and the moſt virtuous among them, preſerved only a kind of attachment to the purity of its morals, though they conformed externally to what was enjoined them by the laws of the ſociety in which they lived.

FREEDOM of thought will never become general and popular, unleſs the magiſtrate, who is naturally the inſpector of every thing that is of ſuch public notoriety as to influence the police, ſhould recover the rights that originally belonged to him. Doctrines either of theory or practice are for this

reaſon

reaſon ſubject to the controul of government; whoſe power, as well as duty, is however confined to the reſtraining of what is injurious to the happineſs of the community, and to the permitting of every thing that does not diſturb the peace and union of mankind.

All ſtates ought to have nearly the ſame moral ſyſtem of religious duties, and leave the reſt, not to be diſputed between men, becauſe that ought to be prevented whenever public tranquillity is diſturbed by it, but to the impulſe of every man's conſcience, thus allowing divines as well as philoſophers an entire freedom of thinking. This unlimitted toleration, with regard to all tenets and opinions that ſhould not affect the moral code of nations, would be the only method of preventing or ſapping the foundations of that power, whether ſpiritual or temporal, which the clergy aſſume; and which, in proceſs of time, has made them become formidable to the ſtate; this is the only way to extinguiſh inſenſibly the enthuſiaſm of the clergy, and the fanaticiſm of the people.

It is partly to the diſcovery of the new world that we ſhall owe that religious toleration which ought to be, and certainly will be introduced in the old. Perſecution would only haſten the downfall of the religions that are now eſtabliſhed. Induſtry and the means of information have now prevailed among the nations, and gained an influence that muſt reſtore a certain equilibrium in the moral and civil order of ſociety: the human

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mind is undeceived with regard to its former superstition. If we do not avail ourselves of the present time to re-establish the empire of reason, it must necessarily be given up to new superstitions.

EVERY thing has concurred for these two last centuries to extinguish that furious zeal which ravaged the globe. The depredations of the Spaniards throughout America, have shewn the world to what excess fanaticism may be carried. In establishing their religion by fire and sword through exhausted and depopulated countries, they have rendered it odious in Europe; and their cruelties have contributed to separate a greater number of catholics from the church of Rome, than they have gained converts to christianity among the Indians. The concourse of persons of all sects in North America has necessarily diffused the spirit of toleration into distant countries, and put a stop to religious wars in our climates. The sending of missionaries has delivered us from those turbulent men, who might have inflamed our country, and who are gone to carry the firebrands and swords of the gospel beyond the seas. Navigation and long voyages have insensibly detached a great number of the people from the absurd ideas which superstition inspires. The variety of religious worships, and the difference of nations, has accustomed the most vulgar minds to a sort of indifference for the object that had the greatest influence over their imaginations. Trade carried on between

between perſons of the moſt oppoſite ſects, has leſſened that religious hatred which was the cauſe of their diviſions. It has been found that morality and integrity are not inconſiſtent with any opinions whatever, and that irregularity of manners and avarice are equally prevalent every where; and hence it has been concluded that the manners of men have been regulated by the difference of climate and of government, and by ſocial and national intereſt. BOOK XIX.

SINCE an intercourſe has been eſtabliſhed between the two hemiſpheres of this world, our thoughts have been leſs engaged about that other world, which was the hope of the few, and the torment of the many. The diverſity and multiplicity of objects induſtry hath preſented to the mind and to the ſenſes, has divided the attachments of men, and weakened the force of every ſentiment. The characters of men have been ſoftened, and the ſpirit of fanaticiſm as well as that of chivalry, muſt neceſſarily have been extinguiſhed together with all thoſe ſtriking extravagancies which have prevailed among people who were indolent and averſe from labour. The ſame cauſes that have produced this revolution of manners, have yet had a more ſudden influence on the nature of governments.

SOCIETY naturally reſults from population, and government is a part of the ſocial ſtate. From conſidering the few wants men have, in proportion to the reſources nature affords them; the lit- Government.

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tle assistance and happiness they find in a civilized state, in comparison of the pains and evils they are exposed to in it; their desire of independence and liberty common to them with all other living beings; together with various other reasons deduced from the constitutions of human nature: from considering all these circumstances, it has been doubted, whether the social state was so natural to mankind as it has generally been thought.

But on the other hand, the weakness and long continuance of the infant state of man; the nakedness of his body which has no natural covering, like that of other animals; the tendency of his mind to perfection, the necessary consequence of the length of his life; the fondness of a mother for her child which is increased by cares and fatigues, who after she has carried it in the womb for nine months, suckles and bears it in her arms for whole years; the reciprocal attachment arising from this habitual connection between two beings that relieve and caress each other; the numerous signs of intercourse in an organization, which besides the accents of the voice, common to so many animals, adds also the language of the fingers and of gestures peculiar to the human race; natural events, which in a hundred different ways may bring together, or re-unite wandering and free individuals; accidents and unforeseen wants, which oblige them to meet for the purposes of hunting, fishing, or even of defence; in a word, the example of so many creatures that live collected

lected together in great numbers, such as amphibious animals and sea monsters, flights of cranes and other birds, even insects that are found in columns and in swarms: all these facts and reasons seem to prove, that men are by nature formed for society, and that they are the sooner disposed to enter into it, because they cannot multiply greatly under the torrid zone, unless they are collected into wandering or sedentary tribes; nor can they diffuse themselves much under the other zones, without associating with their fellow-creatures, for the prey and the spoils which the necessities of food and clothing require.

From the necessity of association, arises that of establishing laws relative to the social state: that is to say, of forming by a combination of all common and particular instincts, one general combination, that shall maintain the collective body and the majority of individuals. For if nature directs man to his fellow-creature, it is undoubtedly by a consequence of that universal attraction, which tends to the preservation and reproduction of the species. All the propensities which man brings with him into society, and all the impressions he receives in it, ought to be subordinate to this first impulse. To live and to propagate, being the destination of every living species, it should seem that society, if it be one of the first principles of man, should concur in assisting this double end of nature; and that instinct, which leads him to the social state, should neces-

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ſarily direct all moral and political laws, ſo as that they ſhould be more durable, and contribute more to the happineſs of the majority of mankind. If, however, we conſider merely the effect, we ſhould think that the principle or ſupreme law of all ſociety has been *to ſupport the ruling power*. Whence can ariſe this ſingular contraſt between the end and the means, between the laws of nature and thoſe of politics? The only anſwer that occurs to this queſtion is; that chance firſt lays the plan of governments, and reaſon improves them. Upon this principle, let us examine the nature of the governments that have brought Europe to its preſent ſtate of policy.

ALL the foundations of thoſe ſocieties that at preſent exiſt are loſt by ſome cataſtrophe, or natural revolution. In all parts we ſee men driven away by ſubterraneous fires, or by war; by inundations, or by devouring inſects; by want or famine; and joining again in ſome uninhabited corner of the earth, or diſperſing and ſpreading themſelves in places already peopled. Civilization always begins by plunder, and order ariſes from anarchy.

THE Hebrews, who were forced by the plagues of Egypt to remove into Arabia Petræa, were, at leaſt, forty years forming themſelves into a body of troops, before they proceeded to ravage Paleſtine, in order to eſtabliſh themſelves there as a nation.

THE ſtates of Greece were founded by plunderers, who deſtroyed ſome monſters, and a great number of men in order to become kings.

ROME, it is ſaid, was founded by people who eſcaped from the flames of Troy, or was only a retreat for ſome banditti from Greece and Italy: but from this ſcum of the human race, aroſe a generation of heroes.

WAR, which, from all the great nations of Europe together, had formed only the Roman empire, made theſe very Romans who were ſo numerous, become barbarians again. As the diſpoſitions and manners of the conquering people are generally impreſſed upon the conquered, thoſe who had been enlightened with the knowledge of Rome at the period when it was diſtinguiſhed by its learning, now ſank again into the blindneſs of ſtupid and ferocious Scythians. During the ages of ignorance, when ſuperior ſtrength always gave the law, and chance or hunger had compelled the people of the north to invade the ſouthern countries, the various emigrations prevented laws from being ſettled in any place. As ſoon as a multitude of ſmall nations had deſtroyed a large one, many chiefs or tyrants divided each vaſt monarchy in ſeveral fiefs. The people, who gained no advantage by the government of one, or of ſeveral men, were always oppreſſed and trampled upon from theſe diviſions occaſioned by the anarchy of the feudal ſyſtem. Trifling wars were continually kept up between neighbouring towns, inſtead of

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those great wars that now prevail between nations.

This continual ferment, however, induced all nations to establish themselves into some regular and consistent form of government. Kings were desirous of raising themselves upon the ruins of those individuals, or of those powerful bodies of men, by whom the commotions were kept up; and to effect this, they had recourse to the assistance of the people. They were civilized, polished, and more rational laws were given them. Slavery had depressed their natural vigour, property restored it; and commerce, which prevailed after the discovery of the new world, increased all their powers, by exciting universal emulation.

These changes were attended with a revolution of another kind. The monarchs could not increase their own power, unless they lessened that of the clergy, and encouraged or prepared the way for the discredit of religious opinions. All innovators who ventured to attack the church, were supported by the throne. From that time, the human understanding was strengthened by exerting itself against the phantoms of imagination, and recovering the path of nature and of reason, discovered the true principles of government. Luther and Columbus appeared; the whole universe trembled, and all Europe was in commotion: but this storm left its horizon clear for the future. The former awakened the understandings of men, the latter, excited their activity.

Since

Since they have laid open all the avenues of induſtry and freedom, moſt of the European nations have attended with ſome ſucceſs to the correction or improvement of legiſlation, upon which the felicity of mankind entirely depends. BOOK XIX.

THIS ſpirit of information and knowledge has not however yet reached the Turks. They have ever preſerved a faithful attachment to the maxims of Aſiatic deſpotiſm. The ſcimitar, at Conſtantinople, is ſtill the interpreter of the Coran. Though the Grand Signior may not be ſeen coming in and going out of the Seraglio, like the tyrant of Morocco, with a bloody head in his hand, yet a numerous body of guards is engaged to execute theſe horrid murders. The people ſometimes maſſacred by their ruler, at other times aſſaſſinate the executioner in their turn; but ſatisfied with this temporary vengeance, they think not of providing for their future ſafety, or for the happineſs of their poſterity. Eaſtern nations will not be at the trouble of guarding the public ſafety by laws, which it is a laborious taſk to form, to ſettle, and to preſerve. If their tyrants carry their oppreſſions or cruelties too far, the head of the vizir is demanded, that of the deſpot is ſtruck off, and thus public tranquillity is reſtored. The janiſſaries make uſe of no other remonſtrance. Even the moſt powerful men in the kingdom have not the leaſt idea of the right of nations. As perſonal ſafety in Turkey belongs only to people of a mean and abject condition, the chief families pride

BOOK XIX. pride themſelves in the very danger they are expoſed to from the government. A Baſhaw will tell you, that a man of his rank, is not deſtined, like an obſcure perſon, to finiſh his days quietly in his bed. One may frequently ſee widows, whoſe huſbands have been juſt ſtrangled, exulting that they have been deſtroyed in a manner ſuitable to their rank.

THE Ruſſians and the Danes do not entertain the ſame prejudices, though they are ſubject to a power equally arbitrary; becauſe theſe nations have the advantage of a more tolerable adminiſtration, and of ſome written laws. They can venture to think, or even to ſay, that their government is limited; but they have never been able to perſuade any ſenſible man, that it was. While the ſovereign makes and annuls the laws, extends or reſtrains them, and permits or ſuſpends the execution of them at pleaſure; while his paſſions are the only rule of his conduct; while he is the only, the central being to whom every thing tends; while nothing is either juſt or unjuſt, but what he makes ſo; while his caprice is the law, and his favour the ſtandard of public eſteem; if this is not a deſpotic government, what other kind of government can it poſſibly be?

IN ſuch a ſtate of degradation, what are men? Enſlaved as they are they can ſcarce venture to look up to heaven. They are inſenſible of their chains, as well as of the ſhame that attends them. The powers of their minds weakened by the effects

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of ſlavery, have not ſufficient force to diſcover the rights inſeparable from their exiſtence. It may be a matter of doubt whether theſe ſlaves are not as culpable as their tyrants; and whether the ſpirit of liberty may not have greater reaſon to complain of the arrogance of thoſe who invade her rights, than of the weakneſs of thoſe, who know not how to defend them.

It has however been frequently aſſerted that the moſt happy form of government would be that of a juſt and enlightened deſpotic prince. The abſurdity of this is evident; for it might eaſily happen that the will of this abſolute monarch might be in direct oppoſition to the will of his ſubjects. In that caſe, notwithſtanding all his juſtice and all his abilities, he would deſerve cenſure to deprive them of their rights, even though it were for their own benefit. No man whatſoever is entitled to treat his fellow-creatures like ſo many beaſts. Beaſts may be forced to exchange a bad paſture for a better; but to uſe ſuch compulſion with men would be an act of tyranny. If they ſhould ſay, that they are very well where they are, or even if they ſhould agree in allowing, that their ſituation is a bad one, but that it is their will and pleaſure to ſtay in it, we may endeavour to teach them, to undeceive them, and to bring them to juſter notions by the means of perſuaſion, but never by thoſe of compulſion. The beſt of princes, who ſhould even have done good againſt the general conſent of his people, would be culpable, if it were

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were only becauſe he had gone beyond his right. He would be culpable not only for the time, but even with regard to poſterity: for though he might be juſt and enlightened, yet his ſucceſſor, without inheriting either his abilities or his virtues, will certainly inherit his authority, of which the nation will become the victim. Let not, therefore, theſe pretended maſters of the people be allowed even to do good againſt the general conſent. Let it be conſidered that the condition of theſe rulers is exactly the ſame as that of the cacique, who being aſked whether he had any ſlaves, anſwered; *Slaves? I know but one ſlave in all my diſtrict, and that is myſelf.*

SWEDEN is ſituated between Ruſſia and Denmark. Let us examine the hiſtory of its conſtitution, and endeavour if poſſible to find out the nature of it.

NATIONS that are poor are almoſt neceſſarily warlike; becauſe their very poverty, the burthen of which they conſtantly feel, inſpires them ſooner or later with a deſire of freeing themſelves from it; and this deſire, in proceſs of time, becomes the general ſpirit of the nation, and the ſpring of the government.

IT only requires a ſucceſſion of ſovereigns fortunate in war, to change ſuddenly the government of ſuch a country from the ſtate of a mild monarchy, to that of the moſt abſolute deſpotiſm. The monarch proud of his triumph thinks he will be ſuffered to do what he pleaſes, begins to acknowledge

knowledge no law but his will; and his ſoldiers whom he hath led ſo often to victory, ready to ſerve him in all things and againſt all men, become by their attachment to the prince the terror of their fellow-citizens. The people, on the other hand, dare not refuſe the chains when offered to them by him, who, to the authority of his rank, joins that which he holds from their admiration and gratitude.

The yoke impoſed by a monarch who has conquered the enemies of the ſtate, is certainly burthenſome; but the ſubjects dare not ſhake it off. It even grows heavier under ſucceſſors, who have not the ſame claim to the indulgence of the people. Whenever any conſiderable reverſe of fortune takes place, the deſpot will be left to their mercy. Then, the people irritated by their long ſufferings, ſeldom fail to avail themſelves of the opportunity of recovering their rights. But as they have neither views nor plans, they quickly paſs from ſlavery to anarchy. In the midſt of this general confuſion, one exclamation only is heard, and that is, Liberty. But as they know not how to ſecure to themſelves this ineſtimable benefit, the nation becomes immediately divided into various factions, which are guided by different intereſts.

If there be one among theſe factions, that deſpairs of prevailing over the others, that faction ſeparates itſelf from the reſt unmindful of the general good: and being more anxious to prejudice its rivals than to ſerve its country, it ſides with the

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BOOK XIX. sovereign. From that moment there are but two parties in the state, distinguished by two different names, which, whatever they be, never mean any thing more than royalists and antiroyalists. This is the period of great commotions and conspiracies.

THE neighbouring powers then act the same part they have ever acted at all times and in all countries upon similar occasions. They foment jealousies between the people and their prince; they suggest to the subjects every possible method of debasing, degrading and annihilating the sovereignty; they corrupt even those who are nearest the throne; they occasion some form of administration to be adopted prejudicial both to the whole body of the nation, which it impoverishes under pretence of exerting itself for their liberty; and injurious to the sovereign, whose prerogative it reduces to nothing.

THE monarch then meets with as many authorities opposed to his, as there are ranks in the state. His will is then nothing without their concurrence. Assemblies must then be held, proposals made, and affairs of the least importance debated. Tutors are assigned to him, as to a pupil in his nonage; and those tutors are persons whom he may always expect to find ill-intentioned towards him.

BUT what is then the state of the nation? The neighbouring powers have now, by their influence, thrown every thing into confusion; they have overturned

turned the ſtate, or ſeduced all the members of it, by bribery or intrigues. There is now but one party in the kingdom, and that is the party which eſpouſes the intereſt of the neighbouring powers. The members of the factions are all pretenders. Attachment to the king is an hypocriſy, and averſion for monarchy another. They are two different maſks to conceal ambition and avarice. The whole nation is now entirely compoſed of infamous and venal men. BOOK XIX.

It is not difficult to conceive what muſt happen after this. The foreign powers that had corrupted the nation muſt be deceived in their expectations. They did not perceive that they carried matters too far; that, perhaps, they acted a part quite contrary to that which a deeper policy would have ſuggeſted; that they were deſtroying the power of the nation, while they meant only to reſtrain that of the ſovereign, which might one day exert itſelf with all its force, and meet with no reſiſtance capable of checking it; and that this unexpected effect might be brought about in an inſtant, and by one man.

That inſtant is come; that man has appeared: and all theſe baſe creatures of adverſe powers proſtrated themſelves before him. He told theſe men, who thought themſelves all powerful, that they were nothing. He told them, I am your maſter; and they declared unanimouſly that he was. He told them, theſe are the conditions to which I would have you ſubmit; and they anſwered,

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ed, we agree to them. Scarce one diſſenting voice was heard among them. It is impoſſible for any man to know what will be the conſequence of this revolution. If the king will avail himſelf of theſe circumſtances, Sweden will never have been governed by a more abſolute monarch. If he is prudent; if he underſtands, that an unlimitted ſovereign can have no ſubjects, becauſe he can have no perſons under him poſſeſſed of property; and that authority can only be exerted over thoſe who have ſome kind of property; the nation may, perhaps, recover its original character. Whatever may be his deſigns or his inclinations, Sweden cannot poſſibly be more unhappy than ſhe was before.

POLAND, which has none but ſlaves within, and therefore deſerves to meet with none but oppreſſors from without, ſtill preſerves, however, the ſhadow and the name of liberty. This kingdom is, at preſent no better than all the European ſtates were ten centuries ago, ſubject to a powerful ariſtocracy, which elects a king, in order to make him ſubſervient to its will. Each nobleman, by virtue of his feudal tenure, which he preſerves with his ſword, as his anceſtors acquired it, holds a perſonal and hereditary authority over his vaſſals. The feudal government prevails there in all the force of its primitive inſtitution. It is an empire compoſed of as many ſtates as there are lands. All the laws are ſettled there, and all reſolutions taken, not by the majority, but by the unanimity of the ſuffrages. Upon falſe notions of right and

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perfection, it has been ſuppoſed that a law was only juſt when it was adopted by unanimous conſent; becauſe it has undoubtedly been thought, that what was right would both be perceived and put in practice by all; two things that are impoſſible in a national aſſembly. But can we even aſcribe ſuch pure intentions to a ſet of tyrants? For this conſtitution, which boaſts the title of a republic and prophanes it, is only a league of petty tyrants againſt the people. In this country, every one has the power to reſtrain, and no one the power to act. Here, the will of each individual may be in oppoſition to the general one; and here, only, a fool, a wicked man, and a madman is ſure to prevail over a whole nation.

And, indeed, this government has never proſpered; and Poland, that enjoys the privilege of electing its kings merely from the jealouſy of its nobles, has been only indebted to the jealouſy of its neighbours, for not having an hereditary deſpot in the family of a foreign conqueror. It was reſerved to our days to ſee this ſtate torn in pieces by three rival powers, which have appropriated to themſelves ſuch of its provinces as lay moſt convenient for them. May this crime of ambition turn out to the advantage of mankind; and by a glorious action of benevolence, may the uſurpers break the chains of the moſt laborious part of their new people! Their ſubjects will be more faithful, by being more free; and being no longer ſlaves, will become men.

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In a monarchy, the forces and wills of every individual are at the diſpoſal of one ſingle man; in the government of Germany, each ſeparate ſtate conſtitutes a body. This is, perhaps, the nation that reſembles moſt what it formerly was. The ancient Germans, divided into colonies by immenſe foreſts, had no occaſion for a very refined legiſlation. But in proportion as their deſcendents have multiplied and come nearer each other, art has kept up in this country what nature had eſtabliſhed; the ſeparation of the people and their political union. The ſmall ſtates that compoſe this confederate republic, preſerve the character of the firſt families. Each particular government is not always parental, or the rulers of the nations are not always mild and humane. But ſtill reaſon and liberty, which unites the chiefs to each other, ſoftens the ſeverity of their diſpoſitions, and the rigour of their authority: a prince in Germany cannot be a tyrant with the ſame ſecurity as in large monarchies.

The Germans, who are rather warriors than a warlike people, becauſe they are rather proficients in the art of war than addicted to it from inclination, have been conquered but once; and it was Charlemagne who conquered, but could not reduce them to ſubjection. They obeyed the man, who, by talents ſuperior to the age he lived in, had ſubdued and enlightened its barbariſm; but they ſhook off the yoke of his ſucceſſors. They preſerved, however, the title of emperor to their chief;

chief; but it was merely a name, ſince, in fact, the power reſided almoſt entirely in the barons that poſſeſſed the lands. The people, who in all countries have unfortunately always been enſlaved, ſpoiled, and kept in a ſtate of miſery and ignorance, each the effect of the other, reaped no advantage from the legiſlation. This ſubverted that ſocial equality which does not tend to reduce all conditions and eſtates to the ſame degree, but to a more general diffuſion of property; and upon its ruins was formed the feudal government, the characteriſtic of which is anarchy. Every nobleman lived in a total independence, and each people under the moſt abſolute tyranny. This was the unavoidable conſequence of a government, where the crown was elective. In thoſe ſtates where it was hereditary, the people had, at leaſt, a bulwark and a permanent refuge againſt oppreſſion. The regal authority could not extend itſelf, without alleviating for ſome time the fate of the vaſſals by diminiſhing the power of the nobles.

But in Germany, where the nobles take advantage of each innterregnum to invade and to reſtrain the rights of the imperial power, the government could not but degenerate. Superior force decided every diſpute between thoſe who could appeal to the ſword. Countries and people were only the cauſes or the objects of war between the proprietors. Crimes were the ſupport of injuſtice. Rapine, murder, and conflagrations not only became frequent, but even lawful. Superſtition, which

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had consecrated tyranny, was compelled to check its insolence. The church, which afforded an asylum to banditti of every kind, settled a truce between them. The protection of saints was implored, to escape the fury of the nobles. The ashes of the dead were only sufficient to awe the ferociousness of these people: so alarming are the terrors of the grave, even to men of cruel and savage dispositions.

When the minds of men kept in constant alarm, were disposed to tranquillity through fear; policy, which avails itself equally of reason and the passions, of ignorance and understanding, to rule over mankind, attempted to reform the government. On the one hand, several inhabitants in the countries were infranchised; and on the other, exemptions were granted in favour of the cities. A number of men in all parts were made free. The emperors, who to secure their election even among ignorant and ferocious princes, were obliged to discover some abilities and some virtues, prepared the way for the improvement of the legislation.

Maximilian improved the means of happiness which time and particular events had concurred to produce in his age. He put an end to the anarchy of the great. In France and Spain, they had been made subject to regal authority; in Germany, the emperors made them submit to the authority of the laws. For the sake of the public tranquillity, every prince is amenable to justice. It is true, that these

theſe laws eſtabliſhed among princes, who may be considered as lions, do not ſave the people, who may be compared to lambs: they are ſtill at the mercy of their rulers, who are only bound one towards another. But as public tranquillity cannot be violated, nor war commenced, without the prince who is the cauſe of it being ſubject to the penalties of a tribunal that is always open, and ſupported by all the forces of the empire, the people are leſs expoſed to thoſe ſudden irruptions, and unforeſeen hoſtilities, which threatening the property of the ſovereigns, continually endangered the lives and ſafety of the ſubjects. War, which formerly eſtabliſhed right, is now ſubject to conditions that moderate its fury. The claims of humanity are heard even in the midſt of carnage. Thus Europe is indebted to Germany for the improvement of the legiſlation in all ſtates; regularity and forms even in the revenge of nations; a certain equity even in the abuſe of power; moderation in the midſt of victory; a check to the ambition of all potentates; in ſhort, freſh obſtacles to war, and freſh encouragements to peace.

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This happy conſtitution of the German empire has improved with the progreſs of reaſon ever ſince the reign of Maximilian. Nevertheleſs the Germans themſelves complain, that although they form a national body, diſtinguiſhed by the ſame name, ſpeaking the ſame language, living under the ſame chief, enjoying the ſame privileges, and connected by the ſame intereſts, yet their empire

BOOK XIX. has not the advantage of that tranquillity, that power, and conſideration it ought to have.

THE cauſes of this misfortune are obvious. The firſt is the obſcurity of the laws. The writings upon the *jus publicum* of Germany are numberleſs; and there are but few Germans who are verſed in the conſtitution of their country. All the members of the empire now ſend their repreſentatives to the national aſſembly, whereas they formerly ſat there themſelves. The military turn, which is become univerſal, has precluded all application to buſineſs, ſuppreſſed every generous ſentiment of patriotiſm, and all attachment to fellow-citizens. There is not one of the princes, who has not ſettled his court too magnificently for his income, and who does not authoriſe the moſt flagrant oppreſſions to ſupport this ridiculous pomp. In ſhort, nothing contributes to the decay of the empire, ſo much as the too extenſive dominion of ſome of its princes. The ſovereigns become too powerful, ſeparate their private intereſts from the general good. This reciprocal diſunion among the ſtates, is the reaſon, that in dangers which are common to all, each province muſt defend itſelf. It is obliged to ſubmit to that prince, whoſoever he may be, whoſe power is ſuperior; and thus the Germanic conſtitution degenerates inſenſibly into ſlavery or tyranny.

ENGLAND owes its national character to its natural poſition, and its government to its national character. It was invited by nature to the ſea, to commerce,

commerce, and to liberty. This idol of men of vigorous minds, which renders them ferocious in a ſavage ſtate, and proud in a civilized one, this ſpirit of liberty always reigned in the breaſts of the Engliſh, even when they were ignorant of its rights and advantages.

THIS was the nation, that firſt diſcovered the injuſtice and inſignificancy of eccleſiaſtical power, the limits of regal authority, and the abuſes of the feudal government. This was the nation, that was the firſt to revolt and throw off this triple load of oppreſſion. Untill the reign of Henry the eighth, they had fought only for the choice of their tyrants; but at length, in chuſing them, they paved the way for aboliſhing, puniſhing, or expelling them.

THE kings of England, however, thought themſelves abſolute, becauſe all thoſe of the reſt of Europe were ſo. The title of monarch deceived James the firſt; he annexed unlimited authority to it. He maintained this opinion with ſo much frankneſs, ſuch an infatuation, that led him even not to diſtruſt his own pretenſions, ſo far as to make him think it neceſſary to ſupport them previouſly by force. His courtiers and his clergy encouraged him in this flattering illuſion, which he perſevered in to the end. He died full of ſelf-eſtimation, and deſpiſed by his people; who knew the weakneſs of the monarch, and were ſenſible of their own ſtrength.

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THE Engliſh, to put an end to the ſpirit of revenge and diffidence, which would have been perpetuated between the king and the people after the tragical end of Charles the firſt, choſe from a foreign race a prince who was obliged to accept of that ſocial compact, of which all hereditary kings affect to be ignorant. William the third received the crown on certain conditions, and contented himſelf with an authority eſtabliſhed upon the ſame baſis as the rights of the people.

UNDER the reigns of the Stuarts, power and liberty had maintained a perpetual conteſt for the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people. But ſince a parliamentary or national title is become the ſole right of kings, whatever faction diſturbs the people, the force of the conſtitution prevails always in their favour.

THE government is formed between abſolute monarchy, which is tyranny; democracy, which tends to anarchy; and ariſtocracy, which fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the Engliſh, combining the advantages of theſe three powers, which mutually obſerve, moderate, aſſiſt, and check each other, tends from its very principles to the national good. This conſtitution, of which there is no inſtance among the ancients, and which ought to ſerve as a model to poſterity, will ſupport itſelf a long time; becauſe it is not the reſult of manners, and of tranſient opinions; but of reaſoning and experience.

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YET the people are with reaſon alarmed about the duration of ſo excellent a government. Encroachments of the crown are not apprehended. The ſhare the king holds in the legiſlation is too trifling, to prevail over the two houſes of parliament. His right of refuſal or conſent is at preſent a mere matter of form. His greateſt ſtrength is in the executive power, which is ſolely veſted in him. But as he hath only the right and exerciſe of this power, without having the inſtruments and the means, he cannot avail himſelf of it. If he were once to abuſe it, he would run the riſque of loſing it for ever. The money that is levied ariſes from the taxes, and theſe are impoſed by parliament. The people ſupply the prince with ſubſidies, and he accounts for the uſe that is made of them. Hence the parliament, under whoſe inſpection the revenues and the diſburſements paſs, is the real legiſlative power. It is the parliament that levies the taxes and determines how they ſhall be employed. But although the prince is in this reſpect dependent on the commons, yet he hath ſtill a great aſcendent over them by the power of diſpenſing favours.

IN monarchies kings are bribed; in England, they bribe. A philoſophical and political writer, well acquainted with the conſtitution of his country, aſſerts, that this bribery is neceſſary to check the tendency of the government to democracy; and that the people would become too powerful, if the king did not buy off the commons.

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On the other hand, if the prince were to raiſe the richer members of the commons to the higheſt dignities by creating peers at pleaſure, he would make the government lean to ariſtocracy. But as the dignity of the peerage cannot be laviſhed without degrading it, and that beſides, commerce will always keep the wealth of the ſtate in conſtant circulation, it will ſcarce happen that riches and dignities will be accumulated and united in a few individuals; for complaints, diſturbances, and even ſeditions will ariſe for the ſecurity of the people before ſuch a misfortune can take place. The intereſt of the collective body in the houſe of commons is reſtrained by the intereſt of each individual. The king is not rich enough to bribe them all; he cannot openly buy them off without diſhonouring them, nor enſlave them without irritating the people. There will always be ſome Demagogues; and the nation ſtands in need of them to watch, to accuſe, and even to keep the parliament in awe.

But, if the enjoyments of luxury ſhould happen totally to pervert the morals of the nation; if the love of pleaſure ſhould ſoften the courage of the commanders and officers of the fleets and armies; if the intoxication of temporary ſucceſſes; if vain ideas of falſe greatneſs ſhould excite the nation to enterpriſes above their ſtrength; if they ſhould be deceived in the choice of their enemies, or their allies; if they ſhould loſe their colonies, either by making them too extenſive, or by laying reſtraints upon

upon them; if their love of patriotiſm is not exalted to the love of humanity: they will ſooner or later be enſlaved, and return to that kind of inſignificancy from whence they emerged only through torrents of blood, and through the calamities of two ages of fanaticiſm and war. They will become like other nations whom they deſpiſe, and Europe will not be able to ſhew the univerſe one nation in which ſhe can venture to pride herſelf. Deſpotiſm, which always oppreſſes moſt heavily minds that are ſubdued and degraded, will alone riſe ſuperior, amidſt the ruin of arts, of morals, of reaſon, and of liberty. BOOK XIX.

THE hiſtory of the united provinces is replete with very ſingular events. Their combination aroſe from deſpair, and almoſt all Europe encourage their eſtabliſhment. They had but juſt triumphed over the long and powerful efforts of the court of Spain to reduce them to ſubjection, when they were obliged to try their ſtrength againſt the people of Britany, and diſconcerted the ſchemes of France. They afterwards gave a king to England, and deprived Spain of the provinces ſhe poſſeſſed in Italy and the Low Countries, to give them to Auſtria. Since that period, Holland has been diſguſted of ſuch a ſyſtem of politics, as would engage her in war; ſhe attends ſolely to the preſervation of her conſtitution, but perhaps not with ſufficient zeal, care, and integrity.

THE conſtitution of Holland, though previouſly modelled on a plan that was the reſult of reflecti-

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on, is not leſs defective than thoſe that have been formed by chance. The ſeven provinces compoſe a kind of heptarchy, the members of which are too independent of each other. In the republic each province is ſupreme; in the provinces, the cities are not ſubject. Alliances, peace, war, ſubſidies, muſt all have the ſanction of the ſtates-general; nor can theſe do any thing without the conſent of the provincial ſtates, nor theſe without the determination of the cities. The firſt defect in this conſtitution ariſes from the ſovereign power been diffuſed into too many branches; the ſecond from the unanimity of ſuffrages; and the third from the equal number of votes. No regard is paid to the difference of extent and population, the province of Holland having no more votes than that of Over-Yſſel, though it bears twenty times a greater ſhare in the public expences. The ſuffrage of Amſterdam carries no more weight with it than that of the moſt petty town: which is a perpetual ſource of diſcord. If the obſtinacy of one ſingle province breaks the union, there is no legal mediator to reſtore it: for the ſtadtholder cannot be conſidered as ſuch.

THIS magiſtrate, whoſe buſineſs it is to terminate religious diſputes, has on that account a dangerous influence, becauſe he may reciprocally involve affairs of religion and of the ſtate with each other. Authoriſed to determine upon the articles of the treaty of union, whenever there is a ſchiſm or diviſion about them, the power he has of putting

ting an end to diſcord makes it eaſy for him to foment it, and opens a vaſt field to his ambition. BOOK XIX.

THESE fears occaſioned the ſuppreſſion of the ſtadtholder's power towards the middle of the laſt century. But thoſe who overthrew this phantom of tyranny, were inſenſibly proceeding to the eſtabliſhment of tyranny itſelf, by changing the democracy into an oligarchy. From that time, the burghers of each town loſt the liberties they enjoyed, and the right of electing their magiſtrates and forming their ſenate. The burgomaſters choſe their officers and ſeized upon the finances, of which they gave no account but to their equals or dependents. The ſenators arrogated to themſelves the right of completing their own body. Thus the magiſtracy was confined within a few families, who aſſumed an almoſt excluſive right of deputation to the ſtates-general. Each province and each town were at the diſpoſal of a ſmall number of citizens, who, dividing the rights and the ſpoils of the people, had the art of eluding their complaints, or of preventing the effects of any extraordinary diſcontent.

THESE encroachments occaſioned the reſtoration of the ſtadtholder's power in the houſe of Orange, and it has been made hereditary, even to the women. But a ſtadtholder is only a captain-general. This magiſtrate, in order to be uſeful to the republic, ought to have an equal authority over every branch of the ſtate. If he had as much influence in the general aſſembly, as he has in the military

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military council, he would have no other intereſts than thoſe of his country; and would be as indifferent to war as peace.

But, perhaps, it may be apprehended, that if the civil power ſhould be united to the military force in the ſtadtholder, he might one day become an inſtrument of oppreſſion. Rome is always quoted as an example to all our free ſtates, that have no circumſtance in common with it. If the dictator became the oppreſſor of that republic, it was in conſequence of its having oppreſſed all other nations; it was becauſe its power having been originally founded by war, muſt neceſſarily be deſtroyed by it; and becauſe a nation, compoſed of ſoldiers, could not eſcape the deſpotiſm of a military government. However improbable it may appear, it is yet certain, that the Roman republic ſubmitted to the yoke, becauſe it paid no taxes. The conquered people were the only tributaries to the treaſury. The public revenues, therefore, neceſſarily remaining the ſame after the revolution as before, property did not appear to be attacked; and the citizen thought he ſhould be ſtill free enough, while he had the diſpoſal of his own property.

Holland, on the contrary, will maintain its liberty, becauſe it is ſubject to very conſiderable taxes. The Dutch cannot preſerve their country without conſiderable expences. The ſenſe of their independence alone excites an induſtry proportionable to the load of their contributions, and to the

patience

patience neceſſary to ſupport the burthen of them. If to the enormous expences of the ſtate it were neceſſary to add thoſe which the pomp of a court requires; if the prince were to employ in maintaining the agents of tyranny what ought to be beſtowed on the foundations of a land obtained as it were from the ſea, he would ſoon drive the people to deſpair.

An inhabitant of Holland, placed upon a mountain, and who obſerves at a diſtance the ſea riſing eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the lands, and daſhing its waves againſt the dikes he has raiſed, conſiders within himſelf, that ſooner or later this boiſterous element will get the better of him. He diſdains ſo precarious a dwelling, and his houſe made either of wood or ſtone at Amſterdam, is no longer looked upon as ſuch; it is his ſhip that is his aſylum, and by degrees he acquires an indifference and manners conformable to this idea. The water is to him what the vicinity of volcanos is to other people.

If to theſe natural cauſes of the decay of a patriotic ſpirit were joined the loſs of liberty, the Dutch would quit a country, that cannot be cultivated but by men who are free; and theſe people ſo devoted to trade would carry their ſpirit of commerce together with their riches to ſome other part of the globe. Their iſlands in Aſia, their factories in Africa, their colonies in America, and all the ports of Europe would afford them an aſylum. What ſtadtholder, what prince, revered

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by ſuch a people, would wiſh, or dare to become their tyrant?

THE French, with a different ſituation, have a different kind of government, which hath undergone a variety of changes. Ever attached to a king, becauſe their government was founded by a military commander, a warlike diſpoſition preſerved them for a long time from political ſlavery. That natural courage; that abhorrence from all kind of meanneſs; that frankneſs which they derived from the Germans, made them believe either that they were free, or that they ought to be ſo, even under the dominion of kings. Jealous of this idea they entertained of themſelves, the nobility, which compoſed almoſt all the nation, claimed an independence not only of the monarch, but even of their own body. Each nobleman formed, in the midſt of the ſtate, a kind of private republic of his own family and his vaſſals. France had then a military government, impoſſible to be defined, ſomething between ariſtocracy and monarchy, having all the abuſes of theſe two conſtitutions, without their real advantages. A perpetual conteſt between the kings and the nobles, an alternate ſuperiority of the power of one ſingle perſon, or of ſeveral; ſuch was the kind of anarchy that laſted, almoſt without interruption, to the middle of the fifteenth century.

THE character of the French was then changed by a train of events that had altered the form of government. The war, which the Engliſh, in con-

conjunction with, or under the direction of the Normans, had inceſſantly carried on againſt France for two or three hundred years paſt, ſpread a general alarm, and occaſioned great ravages. The triumphs of the enemy, the tyranny of the great, all conſpired to make that nation wiſh that the prince might be inveſted with power ſufficient to expel foreigners out of the kingdom, and to keep the nobles in ſubjection. While princes diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom and bravery were endeavouring to accompliſh this, a new generation aroſe. Every individual, when the general alarm was paſt, thought himſelf happy enough in the privileges that his anceſtors had enjoyed. They neglected to trace the ſource of the power of kings, which was derived from the nation; and Lewis XI. having few obſtacles to ſurmount, became more powerful than his predeceſſors.

Before his time, the hiſtory of France preſents us with an account of a variety of ſtates, ſometimes divided, and ſometimes united. Since that prince's reign, it is the hiſtory of a great monarchy. The power of ſeveral tyrants is centered in one perſon. The people are not more free; but the conſtitution is different. Peace is enjoyed with greater ſecurity within, and war carried on with more vigour without.

Civil wars, which tend to make a free people become ſlaves, and to reſtore liberty to a nation that is already enſlaved, have had no other effect in France than that of humbling the great, with-

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out exalting the people. The miniſters, who will always be the creatures of the prince, while the general ſenſe of the nation has no influence in affairs of government, have ſold their fellow-citizens to their maſter; and as the people, who were poſſeſſed of nothing, could not be loſers by this ſervitude, the kings have found it the more eaſy to carry their deſigns into execution, eſpecially as they were always concealed under pretence of political advantage and even of ſelf-intereſt. The jealouſy excited by a great inequality of conditions and fortunes, hath favoured every ſcheme that tended to aggrandize the regal authority. The princes have had the art to engage the attention of the people, ſometimes by wars abroad, ſometimes by religious diſputes at home; to ſuffer the minds of men to be divided by opinions, and their hearts by different intereſts; to excite and keep up jealouſies between the ſeveral ranks of the ſtate; to flatter alternately each party with an appearance of favour, and to ſatisfy the natural envy of the people by the depreſſion of them all. The multitude, reduced to poverty, and become the objects of contempt, having ſeen all powerful bodies brought low one after another, have at leaſt loved in their monarch the enemy of their enemies.

The nation, though by inadvertency it has loſt the privilege of governing itſelf, has not however ſubmitted to all the outrages of deſpotiſm. This ariſes from the loſs of its liberty not having been the effect

effect of a tumultuous and ſudden revolution, but gradually brought about in a ſucceſſion of ſeveral ages. The national character which hath always influenced the princes as well as the court, if it were only by means of the women, hath eſtabliſhed a ſort of balance of power: and thus it is that polite manners having tempered the exertion of force, and ſoftened the oppoſition that might be made to it, have prevented thoſe ſudden and violent commotions, from whence reſults either monarchical tyranny, or popular liberty. BOOK XIX.

INCONSISTENCE, as natural to the minds of a gay and lively people, as it is to children, hath fortunately prevailed over the ſyſtems of ſome deſpotic miniſters. Kings have been too fond of pleaſure, and too converſant with the real ſource of it, not to be induced frequently to lay aſide the iron ſceptre which would have terrified the people, and prevented them from indulging in thoſe frivolous amuſements to which they were addicted. The ſpirit of intrigue which hath ever prevailed among them, ſince the nobles have been invited to court, hath occaſioned continual removals of ſtateſmen, and conſequently ſubverted all their projects. As the change in government has been imperceptibly brought about, the ſubjects have preſerved a kind of dignity, which the monarch himſelf ſeemed to reſpect, conſidering it as the ſource, or conſequence of his own. He has continued the ſupreme legiſlator for a long time, without being either willing or able to abuſe

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his whole power. Kept in awe by the bare idea only of the fundamental laws of the nation he governed, he has frequently been afraid to act contrary to the principles of them. He has been ſenſible that the people had rights to oppoſe to him. In a word, there has been no tyrant, even at a time when there was no liberty.

Such, and ſtill more abſolute have been the governments of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Piedmont; and of the ſeveral ſmall principalities of Italy. The people of the ſouth, whether from inactivity of mind, or weakneſs of body, ſeem to be born for deſpotiſm. The Spaniards though they are extremely proud; and the Italians, notwithſtanding all the powers of genius they poſſeſs, have loſt all their privileges and every idea of liberty. Wherever the monarchy is unlimitted, it is impoſſible to aſcertain with any degree of preciſion what the form of government is, ſince that varies not only with the character of each ſovereign, but even at every period of the ſame prince's life. Theſe ſtates have written laws; and cuſtoms and ſocieties that enjoy certain privileges: but when the legiſlator can ſubvert the laws and tribunals of juſtice; when his authority is founded only on ſuperior ſtrength, and when he calls upon God with a view to inſpire his ſubjects with fear, inſtead of imitating him in order to become an object of affection; when the original right of ſociety, the unalienable right of property among citizens, when national conventions, and

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the engagements of the prince are in vain appealed to; in a word, when the government is arbitrary, there is no longer any ſtate; the nation is no more than the landed property of one ſingle individual.

In ſuch countries, no ſtateſmen will ever be formed. Far from its being a duty to be acquainted with public affairs, it is rather criminal and dangerous to have any knowledge of the adminiſtration. The favour of the court, the choice of the prince, ſupply the place of talents. Talents it is true have their uſe; and are ſometimes wanted to ſerve the deſigns of others, but are never ſuffered to command. In theſe countries, the people ſubmit to the government their ſuperiors impoſe, if they are only indulged in their natural indolence. There is only one ſyſtem of legiſlation in theſe delightful parts of Europe, that merits our attention; which is the republic of Venice.

A great, magnificent and rich city, impregnable, though without walls or fortifications, rules over ſeventy-two iſlands. They are not rocks and mountains raiſed by time in the midſt of a vaſt ſea; but rather a plain parcelled out and cut into channels by the ſtagnations of a ſmall gulph, upon the ſlope of a low land. Theſe iſlands ſeparated by canals, are at preſent joined by bridges. They have been formed by the ravages of the ſea, and the ravages of the war have occaſioned them to be peopled towards the middle of the fifth century.

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The inhabitants of Italy flying from Attila ſought an aſylum on the ſea.

THE Venetian lagunes at firſt neither made a part of the ſame city, nor of the ſame republic. United by one general commercial intereſt, or rather by the neceſſity of defending themſelves, they were, however, divided into as many ſeparate governments as iſlands, each ſubject to its reſpective tribune.

FROM the plurality of chiefs contentions aroſe, and the public good was conſequently ſacrificed. Theſe people, therefore, in order to conſtitute one body, choſe a prince, who under the title of duke or doge, enjoyed for a conſiderable time all the rights of ſovereignty, of which he only now retains the ſigns. Theſe doges were elected by the people till 1173, when the nobles having ſeized upon the whole authority of the republic, named its chief.

THE government of Venice would be preferable to every other, if an ariſtocracy were not, perhaps, the leaſt eligible of any. The ſeveral branches of power are divided there among the nobles, and admirably balanced among each other. The great reign there in peace with a kind of equality, as the ſtars ſhine in the firmament during the ſilence of the night. The people view their ſplendour with ſatisfaction, and are contented if they can only gain a ſubſiſtence, and be indulged in their amuſements. The diſtinction between plebeians and patricians is leſs odious than

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in any other republic; because the laws are particularly directed to restrain and awe the ambition of the nobles. Besides, as the prosperity of Venice was founded upon its commerce, the people might bear unconcerned the loss of power, by the hopes of riches, which they might acquire by industry and labour. BOOK XIX.

The emulation excited by opulence among this maritime people, enabled them to maintain powerful armies; and the spirit of patriotism which is natural to republics, supplied them with soldiers. The variety of information resulting from the government of many men, made them excel all other people in politics. They learned the art of forming, and destroying leagues, and of maintaining themselves against the most formidable powers. But since the decay of their commerce hath made them less conversant with other countries, and diminished their internal vigour, the republic of Venice is degenerated and obliged to observe the most timid circumspection. These people have assumed that jealousy and mistrust which is the national character of all Italy, and have carried them much further. With one half of the treasures and care they have employed to maintain that neutrality they have observed for two centuries, they would have freed themselves for ever from the dangers to which their very precautions have exposed them. Their chief confidence is in an inquisitor, who continually watches over the conduct of every individual ready to inflict punishment

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ment on any one who ſhall dare to ſpeak well or ill of adminiſtration. The cenſure or approbation of government is one of the greateſt crimes. The ſenator of Venice, concealed behind a grate, ſays to the ſubject: *Who art thou, that dar'ſt to approve our conduct!* A curtain riſes, and the poor trembling Venetian beholds a carcaſe tied to a gallows, and hears a terrible voice that calls out to him from behind the grate: *It is thus we treat thoſe who preſume to apologize for us; go home, and be ſilent.* As the republic of Venice ſupports itſelf by its cunning; there is another in Europe which ſupports itſelf by its courage: this is the republic of Switzerland.

THE Switzers, known in antiquity by the name of Helvetians, were, as the Gauls and the Britons, only to be ſubdued by Cæſar, who was the greateſt of the Romans, if he had been more attached to his country. They were united to Germany, as a Roman province, under the reign of Honorius. Revolutions which are frequent and eaſily accompliſhed in ſuch a country as is the Alps, divided colonies, that were ſeparated by large lakes or great mountains, into ſeveral baronies. The moſt conſiderable of theſe, occupied by the houſe of Auſtria, in proceſs of time ſeized upon all the reſt. Conqueſt introduced ſlavery; oppreſſion excited the people to revolt, and thus liberty aroſe from an unbounded exertion of tyranny.

THERE are now thirteen cantons of robuſt peaſants, who defend almoſt all the kings of Europe

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and fear none; who are better acquainted with their real intereſts than any other nation; and who conſtitute the moſt ſenſible people in all modern political ſtates. Theſe thirteen cantons compoſe among themſelves, not a republic as the ſeven provinces of Holland, nor a ſimple confederacy as the Germanic body, but rather a league, a natural aſſociation of ſo many independent republics. Each canton hath its reſpective ſovereignty, its alliances and its treaties ſeparate. The general diet cannot make laws or regulations for either of them. BOOK XIX.

THE three moſt ancient cantons are immediately connected with each of the other twelve. It is from this union of convenience not of conſtitution, that if one of the thirteen cantons were attacked, all the reſt would march to its aſſiſtance. But there is no common alliance between the whole body and each particular canton. Thus the branches of a tree are united among themſelves without having an immediate connection with the common trunk.

THE union of the Switzers was, however, indiſſoluble till the beginning of the 16th century; when religion, which ought to be the bond of peace and charity, diſunited them. The reformation cauſed a ſeparation of the Helvetic body, and the ſtate was divided by the church. All public affairs are tranſacted in the ſeparate and particular diets of the catholic and proteſtant parties. The general diets are aſſembled only to preſerve the appearance

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appearance of union. Notwithſtanding this ſource of diſcord, Switzerland has enjoyed peace much more than any ſtate in Europe.

UNDER the Auſtrian government, oppreſſion and the raiſing of troops impeded population. After the revolution, there was too great an increaſe of the number of people in proportion to the barrenneſs of the land. The Helvetic body could not be enlarged without endangering its ſafety, unleſs it made ſome excurſions abroad. The inhabitants of theſe mountains, as the torrents that pour down from them, were to ſpread themſelves in the plains that border upon the Alps. Theſe people would have deſtroyed each other, had they remained ſequeſtered among themſelves. But ignorance of the arts, the want of materials for manufactures, and the deficiency of money prevented the importation of foreign merchandiſe, and excluded them from the means of procuring the comforts of life and of encouraging induſtry. They drew even from their increaſe of numbers a method of ſubſiſting and acquiring riches, a ſource and an object of trade.

THE duke of Milan, maſter of a rich country open on every ſide to invaſion, and not eaſily defended, was in want of ſoldiers. The Switzers, who were his moſt powerful neighbours, muſt neceſſarily become his enemies, if they were not his allies, or rather his protectors. A kind of traffic was, therefore, ſet on foot between theſe people and the Milaneſe, in which men were bartered for

riches.

riches. The nation engaged troops ſucceſſively in the ſervice of France, of the emperor, of the pope, of the duke of Savoy, and all the potentates of Italy. They ſold their blood to the moſt diſtant powers, and to the nations moſt in enmity with each other; to Holland, to Spain, and to Portugal; as if theſe mountains were nothing more than a repoſitory of arms and ſoldiers, open to every one who wanted to purchaſe the means of carrying on war. BOOK XIX.

EACH canton treats with that power which offers the moſt advantageous terms. The ſubjects of the country are at liberty to engage in war at a diſtance, with an allied nation. The Hollander is by the conſtitution of his country a citizen of the world; the Switzer by the ſame circumſtance a deſtroyer of Europe. The profits of Holland are in proportion to the degree of cultivation, and the conſumption of merchandiſe; the proſperity of Switzerland increaſes in proportion to the number of battles that are fought, and the ſlaughter that attends them.

IT is by war, that calamity inſeparable from mankind, whether in a ſtate of civilization or not, that the republics of the Helvetic body are obliged to live and ſubſiſt. It is by this that they preſerve a number of inhabitants within their country proportioned to the extent and fertility of their lands, without forcing any of the ſprings of government, or reſtraining the inclinations of any individual. It is by the traffic of troops with the powers at war

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with each other, that Switzerland has not been under the neceſſity of ſudden emigrations which are the cauſe of invaſions, and of attempting conqueſts which would have occaſioned the loſs of its liberty, as it cauſed the ſubverſion of all the republics of Greece.

If we now take a review of what has been ſaid, we ſhall find that all the governments of Europe are comprehended under ſome of the forms we have been deſcribing, and are differently modelled according to the local ſituation, the degree of population, the extent of territory, the influence of opinions and occupations, and the external connections and variety of events that act upon the ſyſtem of the body politic, as the impreſſion of ſurrounding fluids does upon natural bodies.

We are not to imagine, as it is often aſſerted, that all governments nearly reſemble each other, and that the only difference between them conſiſts in the character of thoſe who govern. This maxim may, perhaps, be true in abſolute governments, among ſuch nations as have no principles of liberty. Theſe take the turn the prince gives them; they are haughty, proud and courageous, under a monarch that is active and fond of glory; indolent and ſtupid under a ſuperſtitious king; full of hopes and fears under a young prince; of weakneſs and corruption under an old deſpot; or rather alternately confident and weak under the ſeveral miniſters who are raiſed by intrigue. In ſuch ſtates, the people are formed according to the character

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of the adminiſtration: but in free ſtates it is juſt the reverſe. BOOK XIX.

WHATEVER may be ſaid of the nature and ſprings of the different ſyſtems of government to which men are ſubject, the art of legiſlation being that which ought to be the moſt perfect, is alſo the moſt proper to employ men of the firſt genius. The ſcience of government does not contain abſtracted truths, or rather it has not one ſingle principle which does not extend to all the branches of adminiſtration.

THE ſtate is a very complicated machine, which cannot be wound up or ſet in motion without a thorough knowledge of all its component parts. If any one of the parts is too much ſtraitened or relaxed, the whole muſt be in diſorder. Every project that may be beneficial to a certain number of citizens or in critical times, may become fatal to the whole nation, and prejudicial for a long continuance. If we deſtroy or change the nature of any great body, thoſe convulſive motions which are the effect of political intrigues, will diſturb the whole nation, which may, perhaps, feel the effects of them for ages to come. All innovations ought to be brought about inſenſibly, they ſhould ariſe from neceſſity, be the reſult as it were of the public voice, or at leaſt agree with the general wiſhes. To aboliſh old cuſtoms, or to introduce new ones on a ſudden, tends only to increaſe that which is bad, and to prevent the effect of that which is good. To act without conſulting the will of the generality,

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generality, without collecting as it were the plurality of votes in the public opinion, is to alienate the hearts and minds of men, and to bring every thing into discredit, even what is honest and good.

It would be a desirable thing in Europe, that the sovereigns convinced of the necessity of improving the science of government, should imitate a custom there is established in China. In this empire, the ministers are distinguished into two classes, the *thinkers*, and the *signers*. While the last are employed in the arrangement and dispatch of public affairs, the first attend only to the invention of projects, or to the examination of such as are presented to them. This is the source of all those admirable regulations, which establish at China the most enlightened legislation, by the wisest administration. All Asia is subject to a despotic government; but in Turky and Persia, it is a despotism that restrains opinion by means of religion; in China, it is the despotism of the laws by the influence of reason. Among the Mohammedans, they believe in the divine authority of the prince; among the Chinese, they believe in natural authority founded upon the law of reason. But in these empires it is conviction that influences the will.

In the happy state of policy and knowledge to which Europe has attained, it is plain that this conviction of the mind, which produces a free easy and general obedience, can proceed from nothing

thing but a certain evidence of the utility of the laws. If the governments will not pay *thinkers*, who may, perhaps, become ſuſpicious or corrupt as ſoon as they are mercenary; let them, at leaſt, allow men of ſuperior underſtandings to watch in ſome meaſure over the public good. Every writer of genius is born a magiſtrate of his country; and he ought to enlighten it as much as it is in his power. His abilities gave him a right to do it. Whether he be an obſcure or a diſtinguiſhed citizen, whatever be his rank or birth, his mind, which is always noble, derives its claims from his talents. His tribunal is the whole nation; his judge is the public, not the deſpot who does not hear him, nor the miniſter who will not attend to him.

All theſe truths have, doubtleſs, their boundaries: but it is always more dangerous to ſuppreſs the freedom of thought, than to leave it to its bent or impetuoſity. Reaſon and truth triumph over thoſe daring and violent minds, which are rouzed only by reſtraint, and irritated only by perſecution. Kings and miniſters, love your people, love mankind, and ye will be happy. Ye will have then no reaſon to fear men of free ſentiments or unſatisfied minds, nor the revolt of bad men. The revolt of the heart is much more dangerous; for virtue, when ſoured and rouzed into indignation, is guilty of the moſt deſperate acts. Cato and Brutus were both virtuous; they were reduced to

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the neceſſity of chuſing, between two actions of violence, ſuicide, or the death of Cæſar.

THE intereſts of government and thoſe of the nation are the ſame. Whoever attempts to ſeparate them, is unacquainted with their true nature, and will only injure them.

THERE may ſometimes be people diſſatisfied under a good government; but where there are many that are unhappy, without any general proſperity, it is then the government is faulty in its nature.

MANKIND are juſt as we would have them to be; it is the mode of government which gives them a good or an evil propenſity.

A STATE ought to have one object only in view; and that is, public felicity. Every ſtate has a particular manner of promoting this end; which may be conſidered as its ſpirit, its principle, to which every thing elſe is ſubordinate.

A NATION can have no induſtry for the arts, nor courage for war, without a confidence in and an attachment to the government. But when the principle of fear has controuled every other ſpring of the ſoul, a nation then becomes of no conſequence, the prince is expoſed to a thouſand enterpriſes from without, and a thouſand dangers from within. Deſpiſed by his neighbours, and abhorred by his ſubjects, he muſt be in perpetual fear for the ſafety of his kingdom, as well as for that of his own life. It is a happineſs for a nation, that commerce, arts and ſciences ſhould flouriſh within it.

it. It is even a happineſs for thoſe who govern, when they are not inclined to exert acts of tyranny. Upright minds are very eaſily led; but none have a greater averſion for violence and ſlavery. Let good monarchs be bleſſed with enlightened people; and let tyrants have none but brutes to reign over. BOOK XIX.

MILITARY power is both the cauſe and the deſtruction of deſpotiſm; which in its infant ſtate may be compared to a lion that conceals his talons in order to let them grow. In its full vigour, it may be conſidered as a madman who tears his body with his arms. In its advanced age, it is like Saturn, who, after having devoured his children, is ſhamefully mutilated by his own race.

GOVERNMENT may be divided into legiſlation and policy. Legiſlation relates to the internal government of the ſtate, and policy to its external one. Policy.

SAVAGE nations, who are addicted to hunting, have rather a policy than a legiſlation. Governed among themſelves by manners and example, the only conventions or laws they have, are between one nation and another. Treaties of peace or alliance are their only codes of legiſlation.

SUCH were nearly the ſocieties of ancient times. Separated by deſerts, without any communication of trade or voyages, they had only a preſent and immediate intereſt to ſettle. All their negociations conſiſted in putting an end to a war by fixing the boundaries of a ſtate. As it was neceſſary to

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perſuade a nation, and not bribe a court by the miſtreſſes or favourites of a prince, eloquent men were employed for this purpoſe, and the names of orator and ambaſſador were ſynonimous.

In the middle ages, when every thing, even juſtice itſelf was decided by force; when the Gothic government divided by ſeparate intereſts all thoſe petty ſtates which owed their exiſtence to its conſtitution; negociations had but little influence over a wild and recluſe people, who knew no right but that of war, no treaties but for truces, or ranſoms.

During this long period of ignorance and barbariſm, policy was entirely confined to the court of Rome. It had ariſen from the artifices which had founded the papal government. As the pontiffs, by the laws of religion and the ſyſtem of the hierarchy, influenced a very unumerous clergy, which proſelytes extended perpetually in all the chriſtian ſtates, the correſpondence kept up with the biſhops, eſtabliſhed early at Rome a center of communication for all the different churches, or nations. All rights were ſubordinate to a religion, which exerciſed an abſolute authority over the mind of every individual; it had a ſhare in almoſt every tranſaction, either as the motive or the means; and the popes by the Italian agents they had placed in all prelacies of the chriſtian ſtate, were conſtantly informed of every commotion, and availed themſelves of every event. They had the higheſt concern in this; that of attaining univerſal

univerſal monarchy. The barbariſm of the times in which this project was conceived, does not leſſen its greatneſs and ſublimity. How daring was the attempt, to ſubdue without troops nations that were always in arms! What art to make even the weakneſſes of the clergy reſpectable and ſacred! What ſkill to agitate, to ſhake thrones one after the other, in order to keep them all in ſubjection! So deep, ſo extenſive a deſign could only be carried into execution, by being concealed; and, therefore, was inconſiſtent with an hereditary monarchy; in which the paſſions of kings and the intrigues of miniſters, are the cauſe of ſo much inſtability in affairs. This project, and the general rule of conduct it requires, could not be formed but in an elective government, in which the chief is always choſen from a body animated with the ſame ſpirit, and guided by the ſame maxims; in which an ariſtocratic court rather governs the prince, than ſuffers itſelf to be governed by him.

While Italian policy was engaged in examining all the ſtates of Europe, and availing itſelf of every opportunity to aggrandize and confirm the power of the church, each ſovereign ſaw with indifference the revolutions that were taking place without. Moſt of them were too much engaged in eſtabliſhing their authority in their own dominions, in diſputing the branches of power with the ſeveral bodies that were in poſſeſſion of them, or who were ſtriving againſt the natural bent that mo-

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narchy has to deſpotiſm: they were not ſufficiently maſters of their own inheritance, to interfere in the diſputes of their neighbours.

THE fifteenth century changed the order of things. When the princes had collected their forces, they were inclined to bring them to action, and try their reſpective ſtrength. Till that time, the nations had only carried on war with each other upon their ſeveral frontiers. The ſeaſon of the campaign was loſt in aſſembling troops, which every baron always raiſed very ſlowly. There were then only ſkirmiſhes between ſmall parties, not any regular battles between different armies. When a prince either by alliances or inheritance had acquired poſſeſſions in different ſtates, the intereſts were confounded, and contentions aroſe among the people. It was neceſſary to ſend regular troops in the pay of the monarch, to defend at a diſtance territories that did not belong to the ſtate. The crown of England no longer held provinces in the midſt of France; but that of Spain acquired ſome rights in Germany; and that of France laid ſome claims in Italy. From that time all Europe was in a perpetual alternative of war and negociation.

THE ambition, talents, and rivalſhip of Charles V. and Francis I. gave riſe to the preſent ſyſtem of modern politics. Before theſe two kings, France and Spain had diſputed the kingdom of Naples, in the name of the houſes of Arragon and Anjou. Their diſſentions had excited a ferment throughout

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all Italy, and the republic of Venice was the chief cauſe of that inteſtine commotion that was excited againſt two foreign powers. The Germans took a part in theſe diſturbances, either as auxiliaries, or as being intereſted in them. The emperor and the pope were concerned in them with almoſt all Chriſtendom. But Francis I. and Charles V. engaged in their fate, the views, the anxiety, the deſtiny of all Europe. All the powers ſeemed to be divided between two rival houſes, in order to weaken alternately the moſt powerful. Fortune favoured the talents, the force and the artifice of Charles V. More ambitious and leſs voluptuous than Francis I. his character turned the ſcale, and Europe for a time inclined to his ſide, but did not continue always to favour the ſame intereſt.

PHILIP II. who had all the ſpirit of intrigue, but not the military virtues of his father, inherited his projects and ambitious views, and found the times favourable to his aggrandizement. He exhauſted his kingdom of men and ſhips, and even of money, though he was in poſſeſſion of the mines of the new world; and left behind him a more extenſive monarchy, but Spain himſelf in a much weaker ſtate than it had been under his father.

HIS ſon imagined he ſhould again make all Europe dependent by an alliance with that branch of his houſe which reigned in Germany. Philip II. had through negligence relinquiſhed this political idea; Philip III. reſumed it. But in other

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reſpects he followed the erroneous, narrow, ſuperſtitious and pedantic principles of his predeceſſor. Within the ſtate, there was much formality, but no order, and no oeconomy. The church was perpetually encroaching upon the ſtate. The inquiſition, that horrid monſter, which conceals its head in the heavens, and its feet in the infernal regions, ſtruck at the root of population, which at the ſame time ſuffered conſiderably from war and the colonies. Without the ſtate, there were ſtill the ſame ambitious views, and leſs ſkilful meaſures. Raſh and precipitate in his enterpriſes, ſlow and obſtinate in the execution of them, Philip III. had all thoſe defects which are prejudicial to each other, and occaſion every project to miſcarry. He deſtroyed the ſmall degree of life and vigour the monarchy yet retained. Richelieu availed himſelf of the weakneſs of Spain, and the foibles of the king whom he ruled over, to fill that period with his intrigues, and cauſe his name to deſcend to poſterity. Germany and Spain were in ſome manner connected to each other by the houſe of Auria: to this league, he oppoſed that of France with Sweden, to counteract the effect of the former. This ſyſtem would naturally have taken place in his times, if it had not been the work of his genius. Guſtavus Adolphus by his conqueſts enſlaved all the north. All Europe concurred in lowering the pride of the houſe of Auſtria; and the peace of the Pyrenees turned the ſcale againſt Spain in favour of France.

CHARLES

CHARLES V. had been accuſed of aiming at univerſal monarchy; and Lewis XIV. was taxed with the ſame ambition. But neither of them ever conceived ſo high and ſo raſh a project. They were both of them paſſionately deſirous of extending their empire, by the aggrandizement of their families. This ambition is equally natural to princes of common abilities, who are born without any talents, as it is to monarchs of ſuperior underſtanding, who have no virtues or moral qualifications. But neither Charles V. nor Lewis XIV. had that kind of ſpirit of reſolution, that impulſe of the ſoul to brave every thing, which conſtitutes heroic conquerors: they bore no reſemblance in any particular to Alexander. Nevertheleſs uſeful alarms were taken and ſpread abroad. Such alarms cannot be too ſoon conceived, nor too ſoon diffuſed, when there ariſe any powers that are formidable to their neighbours. It is chiefly among nations, and with reſpect to kings, that fear produces ſafety.

WHEN Lewis the XIV. began to reflect on his own ſituation, perhaps, he might be ſurpriſed at ſeeing himſelf more powerful than he thought he was. His greatneſs was partly owing to the little harmony that ſubſiſted between the forces and the deſigns of his enemies. Europe had, indeed, felt the neceſſity of a general union, but had not diſcovered the means of forming it. In treating with this monarch, proud of ſucceſs, and vain from the applauſe he had received, it was thought

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thought a considerable advantage if every thing was not given up. In short, the insults of France which increased with her victories; the natural turn of her intrigues to spread dissention every where, in order to reign alone; her contempt for the faith of treaties; the haughty and authoritative tone she usurped, turned the general envy she had excited into detestation, and raised universal alarms. Even those princes, who had seen without umbrage, or favoured the increase of her power, felt the necessity of repairing this error in politics, and of combining and raising among themselves a body of forces superior to those of France, in order to prevent her tyrannizing over the nations.

Leagues were, therefore, formed, which were for a long time ineffectual. One man alone was found capable to animate and conduct them. Warmed with that public spirit, which only great and virtuous souls can possess, it was a prince, though born in a republic, who for the general cause of Europe was inflamed with that love of liberty, so natural to upright minds. He turned his ambition towards the greatest object and most worthy of the time in which he lived. His own interest never warped him from that of the public. With a courage peculiar to himself he knew how to defy those very misfortunes which he foresaw; depending less for success upon his military abilities than waiting for a favourable turn of affairs, from his patience and political activity.

Such

Such was the ſituation of affairs when the ſuc- BOOK
ceſſion to the throne of Spain ſet all Europe in XIX.
flames.

SINCE the empire of the Perſians and that of the Romans, ambition had never been tempted by ſo rich a ſpoil. The prince, who might have united this crown to his own, would naturally have riſen to that univerſal monarchy, the idea of which raiſed a general alarm. It was, therefore, neceſſary to prevent this empire from becoming the poſſeſſion of a power already formidable, and to keep the balance equal between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, which had the only hereditary right to the throne.

MEN well verſed in the knowledge of the manners and affairs of Spain, have aſſerted, if we may believe Bolingbroke, that had it not been for the hoſtilities, which were then excited by England and Holland, we ſhould have ſeen Philip the V. as good a Spaniard as his predeceſſors, and that the French miniſtry would then have had no influence upon the Spaniſh adminiſtration; but that the war raiſed againſt the Spaniards for the ſake of giving them a ruler, obliged them to have recourſe to the fleets and armies of a ſtate that was alone capable of aſſiſting them in fixing upon ſuch a king as they wanted. This juſt idea the reſult of deep reflection has been confirmed by the experience of half a century. The turn of the Spaniards has never been able to coincide with the taſte of the French. Spain, from the character of

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her inhabitants ſeems rather to belong to Africa than to Europe.

THE train of events, however, anſwered to the general wiſhes. The armies and the councils of the quadruple alliance, gained an equal ſuperiority over the common enemy. Inſtead of thoſe languid and unfortunate campaigns which had tried the patience of the prince of Orange, but not diſcouraged him, all the operations of the confederates were ſucceſsful. France, in her turn, humbled and defeated on every ſide, was upon the brink of ruin, when ſhe was reſtored by the death of the emperor.

IT was then perceived, that if the archduke Charles, crowned with the imperial diadem, and ſucceeding to all the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, ſhould join Spain and the Weſt-Indies to this vaſt inheritance, he would be in poſſeſſion of that ſame exorbitant power, which the houſe of Bourbon had been deprived of by the war. But, the enemies of France ſtill perſiſted in their deſign of dethroning Philip the V. without thinking of the perſon that was to ſucceed him; while true politicians, notwithſtanding their triumphs, grew tired of a war, the very ſucceſs of which always became an evil, when it could no longer do any good.

THIS difference of opinions raiſed diſſentions among the allies, which prevented them from reaping all thoſe advantages from the peace of Utrecht, they might reaſonably have expected from

from their ſucceſs. The beſt means that could be deviſed to protect the provinces of the allies, was to lay open the frontiers of France. Lewis the XIV. had employed forty years in fortifying them, and his neighbours had ſuffered him quietly to raiſe theſe bulwarks which kept them in continual awe. It was neceſſary to demoliſh them: for every ſtrong power that puts itſelf in a poſture of defence, intends to form an attack. Philip remained upon the throne of Spain; and the fortifications were left ſtanding in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine.

SINCE this period, no opportunity hath offered, to rectify the miſtake committed at the peace of Utrecht. France hath always maintained its ſuperiority on the continent: but chance hath often diminiſhed its influence. The ſcales of the political balance will never be perfectly even, nor accurate enough to determine the degrees of power with exact preciſion. Perhaps, even this balance of power may be nothing more than a chimæra. It can be only fixed by treaties, and theſe have no validity, when they are only made between abſolute monarchs, and not between nations. Theſe acts ought to be made by the people themſelves, becauſe the object of them is their peace and ſafety, which are their greateſt advantages: but a deſpot always ſacrifices his ſubjects to his anxiety, and his engagements to his ambition.

BUT it is not war alone that determines the ſuperiority of nations, as it has been hitherto imagined;

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gined; ſince during the laſt half century commerce hath had a much greater influence in it. While the powers of the continent divided Europe into unequal portions, which policy by means of leagues, treaties, and alliances always preſerved in a certain equilibrium; a maritime people formed as it were a new ſyſtem, and by its induſtry made the land ſubject to the ſea; as nature herſelf has done by her laws. It formed, or brought to perfection that extenſive commerce, which is founded on an excellent ſyſtem of agriculture, flouriſhing manufactures, and the richeſt poſſeſſions of the four quarters of the world. This is the kind of univerſal monarchy that Europe ought to wreſt from England, in reſtoring to each maritime ſtate that freedom, and that power it hath a right to have upon the element that ſurrounds it. This is a ſyſtem of public good founded upon natural equity, and in this caſe juſtice is the voice of general intereſt. The people cannot be too much warned to reſume all their powers, and to employ the reſources offered them by the climate and the the ſoil they inhabit, to acquire that national and diſtinct independence in which they were born.

If all Europe were ſufficiently enlightened, and each nation were acquainted with its rights and its real advantages, neither the continent, nor the ocean would mutually give laws to each other; but a reciprocal influence would be eſtabliſhed between the continental and maritime people, a balance of induſtry and power, which would induce a mu-

a mutual intercourſe for the general benefit. Each nation would ſow and reap upon its proper element. The ſeveral ſtates would enjoy the ſame liberty of exportation and importation that ſhould ſubſiſt between the provinces of the ſame empire.

THERE is a great error that prevails in modern politics, which is that every ſtate ſhould endeavour to weaken enemies as much as poſſible. But, no nation can ſeek the ruin of another ſtate, without paving the way for and haſtening its own ſlavery. There are certainly moments in which fortune at once throws into the way of a people a great increaſe of power; but ſuch ſudden elevations are not laſting. It is oftentimes better to ſupport rivals, than to oppreſs them. Sparta refuſed to enſlave Athens, and Rome repented of having deſtroyed Carthage.

THESE noble and generous ſentiments which ſhould inſpire nations ſtill more than kings, would prevent politicians from the neceſſity of committing many crimes and aſſerting many falſehoods; and would remove many impediments and difficulties out of the way of nogociators. At preſent, the complication of affairs hath rendered negociations very intricate. Policy, like that inſidious inſect that weaves its web in darkneſs, hath ſtretched forth its net in the midſt of Europe, and faſtened it, as it were, to every court. One ſingle thread cannot be touched without drawing all the reſt. The moſt petty ſovereign hath ſome ſecret intereſt in the treaties between the greater powers.

Two

BOOK XIX. Two petty princes of Germany cannot exchange a fief, or a domain, without being thwarted or seconded by the courts of Vienna, Verſailles, or London. Negociations muſt be carried on in all the cabinets for years together for every the moſt trifling change in the diſpoſition of the land. The blood of the people is the only thing that is not bargained for. War is determined upon in a day or two; the ſettling of peace is protracted during ſeveral years. This ſlowneſs in negociations, which proceeds from the nature of affairs, is alſo increaſed by the character of the negociators.

THESE are generally ignorant perſons engaged with men of knowledge and abilities. There are, perhaps, two or three wiſe and judicious councils in Europe. The reſt are in the poſſeſſion of intriguing men, raiſed to the management of affairs by the paſſions and ſhameful pleaſures of a prince and his miſtreſſes. A man is advanced to a ſhare in the adminiſtration, without any knowledge of the ſubject; he adopts the firſt ſyſtem that is offered to his caprice; purſues it without underſtanding it, and with a degree of obſtinacy proportionate to his ignorance; he changes the whole plan of his predeceſſors, in order to introduce his own ſyſtem of adminiſtration, which he will never be able to ſupport. Richelieu's firſt declaration, when he became miniſter, was: *the council hath altered its plan.* This ſaying, which was once found to be a good one, in the mouth of one ſingle man, has, perhaps, been repeated, or thought

thought of, by every one of Richelieu's ſucceſſors. All men engaged in public affairs have the vanity, not only to proportion the parade of their expence, of their manner, and of their air, to the importance of their office; but even to raiſe the opinion they have of their own underſtanding, in proportion to the influence of their authority. BOOK XIX.

When a nation is great and powerful, what ſhould its governors be? The court and the people will anſwer this queſtion, but in a very different manner. The miniſters ſee nothing in their office but the enlargement of their rights; the people the enlargement only of their duties. The ideas of the latter are juſt; for the duties and rights ariſing from each mode of government ought to be regulated by the wants and deſires of each nation. But this principle of the law of nature is not applicable to the ſocial ſtate. As ſocieties, whatever be their origin, are almoſt all of them ſubject to the authority of one ſingle man, political meaſures are dependent on the character of the prince.

If the king is a weak and irreſolute man, his government will change as his miniſters, and his politics will vary with his government. He will alternately have miniſters, that are ignorant or enlightened, ſteady or fickle, deceitful or ſincere, harſh or humane, inclined to war or peace; ſuch, in a word, as the variety of intrigues will produce them. Such a ſtate will have no regular ſyſtem of politics; and all other governments will not be

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able to maintain any permanent deſigns and meaſures with it. The ſyſtem of politics muſt then vary with the day, or the moment; that is, with the humour of the prince.

But the fate of nations and political intereſts are very different in republican governments. As the authority there reſides in the collective body of the people, there are certain principles and ſome public intereſts attended to in every negociation. In this caſe the permanency of a ſyſtem is not to be confined to the duration of the miniſtry, or to the life of one ſingle man. The general ſpirit that exiſts and perpetuates itſelf in the nation, is the only rule of every negociation. Not but that a powerful citizen, or an eloquent demagogue, may ſometimes lead a popular government into political miſtake; but this is eaſily recovered. Faults, in theſe inſtances, may be conſidered equally with ſucceſſes as leſſons of inſtruction. Great events, and not men, produce remarkable periods in the hiſtory of republics. It is in vain to attempt to ſurpriſe a free people by artifice, or intrigues in a treaty of peace, or alliance. Their maxims will always make them return to their laſting intereſts, and all engagements will give way to the ſupreme law. In theſe governments, it is the ſafety of the people that does every thing, while in others it is the will of the ruler.

This contraſt of political principles has rendered every popular government ſuſpicious or odious to all abſolute monarchs. They have dreaded

dreaded the influence of a republican ſpirit upon their own ſubjects, the weight of whoſe chains they are every day increaſing. A kind of ſecret conſpiracy may therefore be perceived between all monarchies, to deſtroy, or inſenſibly to ſap the foundations of all free ſtates. But liberty will ariſe from the midſt of oppreſſion. It already exiſts in every breaſt; public writings will contribute to inſtil it into the minds of all enlightened men; and tyranny into the hearts of the people. All men will, at length, be ſenſible, and this period is at no great diſtance, that liberty is the firſt gift of heaven, as it is the firſt ſource of virtue. The inſtruments of deſpotiſm will become its deſtroyers; and the enemies of humanity, thoſe who ſeem armed at preſent merely to oppoſe it, will exert themſelves in its defence.

War. WAR, as well as ſociety, has exiſted at all times and in all countries; but the art of war is only to be found in certain ages of the world, and among certain people. The Greeks eſtabliſhed it, and conquered all the powers of Aſia. The Romans improved it and ſubdued the world. Theſe two nations worthy to command all others, as their genius and virtue were the cauſes of their proſperity, owed this ſuperiority to their infantry, in which every ſingle man exerts his whole ſtrength. The Grecian phalanx and the Roman legions were every where victorious.

WHEN a ſuperior number of cavalry had been introduced, rather from a principle of indolence

BOOK XIX. than inactivity, into the armies of the ancients, Rome loſt ſome of its glory and ſucceſs. Notwithſtanding the exact diſcipline of its troops, it could no longer reſiſt thoſe barbarous nations, that fought on foot.

These men, however, little better than ſavages, who, with arms only, and thoſe powers nature had taught them the uſe of, had ſubdued the moſt extenſive and the moſt civilized empire of the univerſe, ſoon changed their infantry into cavalry. This was properly called the line of battle, or the army. All the nobility who were the ſole poſſeſſors of lands and of privileges, thoſe uſual attendants of victory, choſe to ride on horſeback; while the enſlaved multitude were left on foot, almoſt without arms and held in no eſtimation.

In times when the gentleman was diſtinguiſhed by his horſe; when the man himſelf was of little conſequence, and every idea of importance was attached to the knight; when wars conſiſted in ſmall incurſions, and campaigns laſted but a day; when ſucceſs depended upon the quickneſs of marches: then the fate of armies was determined by cavalry. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were ſcarce any other troops in Europe. The dexterity and ſtrength of men was no longer ſhewn in wreſtling, at the ceſtus, in the exerciſe of the arms, and of all the muſcles of the body; but in tournaments, in managing a horſe, and in throwing the lance at full ſpeed. This ſpecies

cies of war, better calculated for wandering Tartars, than for fixed and ſedentary ſocieties, was one of the defects of the feudal government. A race of conquerors, whoſe rights were to be determined by their ſwords; whoſe merit and glory was in their arms; whoſe ſole occupation was hunting, could hardly avoid riding on horſeback, with all that parade and ſpirit of authority which muſt neceſſarily ariſe from a rude and uncultivated underſtanding. But what could troops of heavy-armed cavalry avail in the attack and defence of caſtles and towns, fortified by walls or by ſurrounding waters?

To this imperfection of military knowledge, muſt be aſcribed the duration of war for ſeveral ages without intermiſſion, between France and England. War continued inceſſantly for want of a ſufficient number of men. Whole months were required to collect, to arm, to bring into the field troops that were only to continue there a few weeks. Kings could not aſſemble more than a certain number of vaſſals, and thoſe at ſtated times. The lords had only a right to call under their banners ſome of their tenants, upon ſtipulated terms. The time that ought to have been employed in carrying on war, was loſt in forms and regulations, in the ſame manner as courts of juſtice conſume thoſe eſtates they are to determine. At length the French tired with being conſtantly obliged to repulſe the Engliſh, like the horſe that implored the aſſiſtance of man againſt

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the ſtag, ſuffered the yoke and burthen to be impoſed upon them, which they bear to this day. Kings raiſed and maintained at their own expence a conſtant body of troops. Charles VII. after having expelled the Engliſh by the aſſiſtance of mercenary troops, when he diſbanded his army, kept nine thouſand horſe, and ſixteen thouſand infantry.

THIS was the origin of the abaſement of the nobility, and the elevation of monarchy; of the political liberty of the nation without, and its civil ſlavery within. The people were delivered from feudal tyranny, only to fall ſome time or other under the deſpotiſm of kings. So much does human nature ſeem born for ſlavery! It became neceſſary to raiſe a fund for the payment of an army; and the taxes were arbitrary, and unlimited as the number of ſoldiers, that were diſtributed in the different parts of the kingdom, under a pretence of guarding the frontiers againſt the enemy; but in reality to reſtrain and oppreſs the ſubject. The officers, commanders and governors were tools of government always armed againſt the nation itſelf. They as well as their ſoldiers no longer conſidered themſelves, as citizens of the ſtate, ſolely devoted to the defence of the property and rights of the people. They acknowledged no longer any perſon in the kingdom, except the king, in whoſe name they were ready to maſſacre their fathers and brothers. In

ſhort,

ſhort, the body of troops raiſed by the nation was nothing more than a royal army. BOOK XIX.

THE diſcovery of gunpowder which required conſiderable expence and great preparation, forges, magazines, and arſenals, made arms more than ever dependent on kings, and determined the advantage that infantry hath over cavalry. The latter preſented the flank of the man and horſe to the former. A horſeman diſmounted was either loſt or good for nothing; and a horſe without a leader occaſioned confuſion and diſorder among the ranks. The havock which the artillery and fire-arms made in ſquadrons, was more difficult to repair than it was in battalions. In a word, men could be bought and diſciplined at a leſs expence than horſes: and this made it eaſy for kings to procure ſoldiers.

THUS the innovation of Charles VII. fatal to his ſubjects, at leaſt in futurity, became from his example prejudicial to the liberty of all the people of Europe. Every nation was obliged to keep itſelf upon the defence againſt a nation always in arms. The right ſyſtem of politics, if there were any politics at a time when arts, literature, and commerce had not yet opened a communication among people, ſhould have been, for the princes to have jointly attacked that particular power that had put itſelf into a ſtate of continual war. But inſtead of compelling it to ſubmit to peace, they took up arms themſelves. This contagion ſpread itſelf the quicker, as it appeared the ſole remedy

BOOK XIX. againſt the danger of an invaſion, the only guarantee of the ſecurity of the nations.

THERE was however a general want of the knowledge neceſſary to diſcipline a body of infantry, the importance of which began to be perceived. The manner of fighting which the Switzers had employed againſt the Burgundians, had rendered them as famous as formidable. With heavy ſwords and long halberds, they had always overcome the horſes and men of the feudal army. As their ranks were impenetrable, and as they marched in cloſe columns, they overthrew all that attacked, and all that oppoſed them. Every power was then deſirous of procuring ſome Swiſs ſoldiers. But, the Switzers, ſenſible of the need there was of their aſſiſtance, and ſetting the purchaſe of it at too a high a rate; it became neceſſary to reſolve not to employ them, and to form in all parts a national infantry, in order not to depend upon theſe auxiliary troops.

THE Germans firſt adopted a diſcipline that required only ſtrength of body, and ſubordination. As their country abounded in men and horſes, they almoſt rivalled the reputation of the Swiſs infantry, without loſing the advantage of their own cavalry.

THE French, more lively, adopted with greater difficulty, and more ſlowly, a kind of military ſyſtem that laid a reſtraint upon all their motions, and ſeemed rather to require perſeverance than impetuoſity. But the taſte for imitation and novelty

velty prevailed among this light people, over that vanity which is fond of its own cuſtoms.

THE Spaniards, notwithſtanding the pride they have been reproached with, improved the military art of the Switzers, by bringing to greater perfection the diſcipline of that warlike people. They formed an infantry which became alternately the terror and admiration of Europe.

IN proportion as the infantry increaſed, the cuſtom and ſervice of the feudal militia ceaſed in all parts, and the war became more general. The conſtitution of each nation had for ages paſt ſcarce allowed the different people to wage war and maſſacre one another beyond the barriers of their own ſtates. War was carried on upon the frontiers only between the neighbouring powers. When France and Spain had carried their arms to the moſt remote extremities of Italy, it was no longer poſſible to call together the ban and arriere ban of the nations; becauſe it was not in fact the people who made war againſt each other, but the kings with their troops, for the honour of themſelves or their families, without any regard to the good of their ſubjects. Not that the princes did not endeavour to intereſt the national pride of the people in their quarrels; but this was done merely to weaken or totally to ſubdue that ſpirit of independence which was ſtill ſtruggling among ſome ſets of men, againſt that abſolute authority which the princes had gradually aſſumed.

ALL

BOOK XIX.

All Europe was in commotion. The Germans marched into Italy; the Italians into Germany; the French into both theſe countries. The Turks beſieged Naples and Nice; and the Spaniards were at the ſame time diſperſed in Africa, in Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in the low countries. All theſe people inured, and practiſed in arms, acquired great ſkill in the art of fighting and deſtroying each other with infallible regularity and preciſion.

It was religion that cauſed the Germans to contend with the Germans; the French with the French; but which more particularly excited Flanders againſt Spain. It was on the fens of Holland that all the rage of a bigotted and deſpotic king fell; of a ſuperſtitious and ſanguinary prince; of the two Philips, and of the duke of Alba. It was in the low countries that a republic aroſe from the perſecutions of tyranny, and the flames of the inquiſition. When freedom had broken her chains, and found an aſylum in the ocean, ſhe raiſed her bulwarks upon the continent. The Dutch firſt invented the art of fortifying places: ſo much doth genius and invention belong to free minds. Their example was generally followed. Extenſive ſtates had only occaſion to fortify their frontiers. Germany and Italy, divided among a number of princes, were crowded with ſtrong citadels from one end to the other. When we travel through theſe countries, we meet

every

every evening with gates ſhut and draw-bridges at the entrance of the towns. BOOK XIX.

WHILE the Dutch were improving the art of fortification, of the attack and defence of towns, the Swedes were employed in forming, as it were, the military ſcience of the field. Guſtavus Adolphus was eminently ſkilled in the art of war, which other nations have acquired at times, but which the Germans have always preſerved, as peculiarly attached to their climate. There are ſoldiers in other parts, but it is Germany alone that furniſhes generals.

THIS art had been in conſtant uſe for a century paſt, when it was remarkably improved by Lewis XIV. He firſt introduced the cuſtom of wearing a uniform; of carrying the bayonet at the end of the firelock; of making uſe of the artillery to advantage; in a word, of increaſing to the utmoſt the deſtructive powers of fire and ſword.

THE king of Pruſſia hath invented a new method of diſciplining armies, of leading on troops to battle, and of gaining victories. This prince, who would have been better ſerved by another nation, and certainly better commended than he could poſſibly be by his own; who hath not had, ſince Alexander, his equal in hiſtory for extent and variety of talents; this prince, who without having been himſelf formed by Greeks, hath been able to form Lacedemonians; he, in a word, who hath deſerved, beyond all others, that his name ſhould be recorded in his age, and rendered

equally

BOOK XIX. equally great and diſtinguiſhed as thoſe of the moſt remarkable and brilliant ages of the world: the king of Pruſſia, in ſhort, hath totally changed the principles of war, by giving in ſome meaſure to the legs an advantage over the arms; that is to ſay, that by the rapidity of his evolutions and the celerity of his marches, he hath always excelled his enemies, even when he hath not conquered them. All the nations of Europe have been obliged to imitate his example, in order not to be obliged to ſubmit to him. He will enjoy the glory, ſince it is one, of having raiſed the art of war to a degree of perfection, from which fortunately it cannot but degenerate.

It is not to him, but to Lewis XIV. that we muſt aſcribe that prodigious number of troops, which preſents us with the idea of a war even in the midſt of peace. In imitation of that monarch, who had always a numerous army on foot, all the princes of Europe, whether ruling over large or ſmall ſtates, have maintained bodies of troops, frequently more burthenſome to the ſubject from the expences that attended them, than uſeful for the defence of the kingdom. Some of the moſt politic among them have engaged theſe troops in the pay of greater powers; and thus by a double advantage, they have contrived to raiſe large ſums of money for men whoſe lives were always ſold but never loſt.

What reaſon then have we to exclaim againſt the barbarous manners that prevailed under the feudal

feudal government? War was then to be considered as a time of violence and confuſion; but at preſent it is almoſt a natural ſtate. Moſt governments are now military, or become ſo. Even the improvement in our diſcipline is a proof of it. The ſecurity we enjoy in our fields, the tranquillity that prevails in our cities, whether troops are paſſing through or are quartered in them; the police which reigns in camps and in garriſon towns, proclaim, indeed, that arms are under ſome kind of controul, but at the ſame time indicate that every thing is ſubject to their power. BOOK XIX.

THOUGH the licentiouſneſs and plunder of the ſoldier are reſtrained, the people are obliged to purchaſe this ſecurity at a dear rate, by the levying of taxes and raiſing of troops. It is not merely by battles that war is fatal. A million of men killed or loſt, are a very inconſiderable number out of a hundred million which Europe may, perhaps, contain. But this million comprehends the choiceſt ſubjects, the principal part of the youth, the ſource of population, the life of induſtry and labour. And in order to ſupport and recruit this million of troops, all the ſeveral orders of ſociety muſt be burthened; which encroaching one upon the other, muſt neceſſarily oppreſs the loweſt and the moſt uſeful, that of the huſbandman. The increaſe of taxes and the difficulty of collecting them, deſtroy through want or diſtreſs thoſe very fa-

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families, which are the parents and nurſeries of the manufactures and the armies.

ANOTHER inconvenience ariſing from the increaſe of ſoldiers, is a decreaſe of natural courage. Few men are born fit for war. If we except Lacedemon and Rome, where women that were free brought forth ſoldiers; where children were lulled to ſleep by, and awakened with the ſound of trumpets and ſongs of war; where education rendered men unnatural, and made them beings of a different ſpecies: all other nations have only had a few brave men among them. And, indeed, the leſs is the number of troops, the better will they be. In the earliear ages of our anceſtors, who were leſs civilized but ſtronger than we are, armies were much leſs numerous than ours, but engagements were more deciſive. It was neceſſary to be a noble or a rich man to ſerve in the army, which was looked upon both as an honour and a privilege. None but volunteers entered into the ſervice. All their engagements ended with the campaign; and any man who diſliked the art of war was at liberty to withdraw himſelf. Beſides, there was then more of that ſpirit, of that greatneſs of ſentiment which conſtitutes true courage. At preſent, what glory is there in ſerving under abſolute commanders, who judge of men by their ſize, eſtimate them by their pay, enliſt them by force or by ſtratagem, and keep or diſcharge them at pleaſure without their conſent, as they have taken them? What honour is there in

aſpiring

aſpiring to the command of armies under the baneful influence of courts, where every thing is given or taken away without reaſon; where men without merit are raiſed, and others though innocent are degraded by mere caprice? Therefore, except in riſing empires, or in critical times, the greater number there are of ſoldiers in the ſtate, the more is the nation weakened; and in proportion as a ſtate is enfeebled, the number of its ſoldiers is increaſed.

A third inconvenience is, that the increaſe of ſoldiers tends to deſpotiſm. A number of troops, towns well fortified, magazines and arſenals may prevent invaſions; and though they preſerve a people from the excurſions of a conqueror, they do not ſecure them from the attempts of a deſpotic prince. Such a number of ſoldiers ſerve only to keep thoſe that are already ſlaves in chains. The tyrant then prevails, and makes every thing conform to his will, as every thing is ſubſervient to his power. By the force of arms alone, he ſets the opinions of men at defiance, and controuls their will. By the aſſiſtance of ſoldiers he levies taxes; and by theſe he raiſes ſoldiers. He imagines that his authority is ſhewn and exerciſed, by deſtroying what he hath formed; but his exertions are vain and fruitleſs. He is perpetually renewing his forces, without being ever able to recover the national ſtrength. In vain do his ſoldiers keep his people in continual war; if his ſubjects tremble at his troops; his troops in return will fly from the enemy.

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enemy. But in these circumstances the loss of a battle is attended with the loss of a kingdom. The hearts of all being alienated, are impatient of submitting to a foreign yoke; because under the dominion of a conqueror, there is still hope left, under that of a despot, nothing remains but fear. When the progress of the military government hath introduced despotism, then the nation is lost. The soldiery soon becomes insolent and detested. Barrenness occasioned by wretchedness and debauchery, is the cause of the extinction of families. A spirit of discord and hatred prevails among all orders of men, that are either corrupted or disgraced. Societies betray, sell, and plunder each other, and give themselves up one after another to the scourges of the tyrant, who plunders, oppresses, destroys and annihilates them all. Such is the end of that art of war, which paves the way for a military government. Let us now consider what influence the navy has.

Navy.

THE ancients have transmitted to us almost all those arts, that have been revived with the restoration of letters; but we have surpassed them in the military management of the navy. Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Rome, scarce knew any sea but the Mediterranean; to sail through which it was only necessary to have rafts, gallies, and men to row them. Sea engagements might then be bloody; but it required no great skill to construct and equip the fleets. To pass from Europe into Africa, it was only necessary to be supplied with

with boats, which may be called flat bottom ones, which tranſmitted Carthaginians or Romans, the only people almoſt who were engaged in ſea-fights. Commerce was fortunately a greater object of attention to the Athenians and the republics of Aſia than victories at ſea.

After theſe famous nations had abandoned both the land and the ſea to plunderers and to pirates, the navy remained during twelve centuries equally neglected with all the other arts. Thoſe ſwarms of barbarians, who over-ran and totally deſtroyed Rome in its declining ſtate, came from the Baltic, upon rafts or canoes, to ravage and plunder our ſea-coaſts, without going far from the continent. Theſe were not voyages, but deſcents upon the coaſts that were continually renewed. The Danes and Normans were not armed for a cruize, and ſcarce knew how to fight but upon land.

At length, chance or the Chineſe ſupplied the Europeans with the compaſs, and this was the cauſe of the diſcovery of America. The needle, which taught ſailors to know how far they were diſtant from the north, or how near they approached to it, emboldened them to attempt longer voyages, and to loſe ſight of land for whole months together. Geometry and aſtronomy taught them how to compute the progreſs of the conſtellations, to determine the longitude by them, and to judge pretty nearly how far they were advancing to the eaſt and weſt. Even at that time, the height and the diſtance of veſſels

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from the coaſt might always have been known. Though the knowledge of the longitude be much more inaccurate than that of the latitude, yet they both ſoon occaſioned ſuch improvement to be made in navigation, as to give riſe to the art of carrying on war by ſea. The firſt eſſay, however, of this art was made between gallies that were in poſſeſſion of the Mediterranean. The moſt celebrated engagement of the modern navy was that of Lepanto, which was fought two centuries ago, between two hundred and five chriſtian, and two hundred and ſixty Turkiſh gallies. This prodigious armament was entirely conſtructed in Italy; a country from which almoſt every invention of art has been derived, though not preſerved in it. But at that time, its trade, its population were double what they are at preſent. Beſides, thoſe gallies were neither ſo long nor ſo large as thoſe of our times, as we may judge from ſome of the old carcaſes that are ſtill preſerved in the arſenal of Venice. The number of rowers amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the troops did not exceed fourſcore in one galley. At this day Venice has more beautiful gallies and leſs influence upon that ſea which the doge marries, and which other powers frequent and trade upon.

GALLIES, indeed, were proper for criminals; but ſtronger veſſels were required for ſoldiers. The art of conſtructing ſhips improved with that of navigation. Philip II. king of all Spain and of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, employed all the docks of Spain and Por-

Portugal, of Naples and Sicily, which he then poſſeſſed, in conſtructing ſhips of an extraordinary ſize and ſtrength; and his fleet aſſumed the title of the Invincible Armada. It conſiſted of one hundred and thirty ſhips, near one hundred of which were the largeſt that had yet been ſeen on the ocean. Twenty ſmall ſhips followed this fleet, and ſailed or fought under its protection. The pride of the Spaniards in the ſixteenth century, hath dwelt very much upon and exaggerated the pompous deſcription of this formidable armament. But what ſpread terror and admiration two centuries ago, would now ſerve only to excite laughter. The largeſt of thoſe ſhips would be no more than a third-rate veſſel in our ſquadrons. They were ſo heavily armed, and ſo ill-managed, that they could ſcarce move, or ſail near the wind, nor board another veſſel, nor could the ſhip be properly worked in tempeſtuous weather. The ſailors were as awkward as the ſhips were heavy, and the pilots almoſt as ignorant as the ſailors.

The Engliſh, who were already acquainted with the weakneſs and little ſkill of their enemies at ſea, concluded that inexperience would occaſion their defeat. They carefully avoided boarding theſe unwieldy machines, and burned a part of them. Some of theſe enormous galleons were taken, others diſabled. A ſtorm aroſe, in which moſt of the ſhips loſt their anchors, and were abandoned by their crews to the fury of the waves, and caſt away, ſome upon the weſtern coaſts of Scotland,

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others upon thoſe of Ireland. Scarce one half of this invincible fleet was able to return to Spain, where the damages it had ſuffered, joined to the terror of the ſailors, ſpread a general conſternation, from which Spain has never recovered. The Spaniards were for ever depreſſed by the loſs of an armament that had coſt three years preparation, and upon which all the forces and revenues of the kingdom were almoſt exhauſted.

THE deſtruction of the Spaniſh navy occaſioned the dominion of the ſea to paſs into the hands of the Dutch. The pride of their former tyrants could not be more ſignally puniſhed than by the proſperity of a people, forced by oppreſſion to break the yoke of regal authority. When this republic began to emerge from its fens, the reſt of Europe was embroiled in civil wars by the ſpirit of fanaticiſm. Perſecution drove men into Holland from all other ſtates. The inquiſition which the houſe of Auſtria wiſhed to extend over all parts of its dominions; the perſecution which Henry II. raiſed in France; the emiſſaries of Rome, who were ſupported in England by Mary; every thing, in a word, concurred to people Holland with an immenſe number of refugees. This country had neither lands, nor harveſt for their ſubſiſtence. They were obliged to ſeek it by ſea throughout the whole univerſe. Almoſt all the commerce of Europe was engroſſed by Liſbon, Cadiz and Antwerp, under one ſovereign, whoſe power and ambition rendered him a general object

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of hatred and envy. The new republicans having escaped his tyranny, and being excited by resentment and necessity, became pirates, and formed a navy at the expence of the Spaniards and Portuguese, whom they held in utter aversion. France and England, who in the progress of this rising republic, only perceived the humiliation of the house of Austria, assisted Holland in preserving the conquest and spoils she had made, the value of which she was yet unacquainted with. Thus the Dutch secured to themselves establishments wherever they chose to direct their forces; fixed themselves in these acquisitions before the jealousy of other nations could be excited, and imperceptibly made themselves masters of all commerce by their industry, and of all the seas by the strength of their squadrons.

The domestic contentions in England were for a while favourable to this prosperity, which had been so silently acquired in remote countries. But at length Cromwell excited in his country an emulation for commerce, so natural to the inhabitants of an island. To share the empire of the seas with the Dutch was, in fact, to give up to them; and they were determined to maintain it. Instead of forming an alliance with England, they courageously resolved upon war. They carried it on for a long time with unequal force; and this perseverance against misfortune preserved to them, at least, an honourable rivalship. Superiority in the construction and form of the ships often gave the victory

BOOK XIX. to their enemies; but the vanquiſhed never met with any deciſive loſſes.

THESE long and dreadful combats, however, had exhauſted, or, at leaſt, diminiſhed the ſtrength of the two nations, when Lewis XIV. willing to avail himſelf of their mutual weakneſs, aſpired to the empire of the ſea. When this prince firſt aſſumed the reins of government, he found only eight or nine veſſels in his harbours, and thoſe very much decayed; neither were they ſhips of the firſt or ſecond rate. Richelieu had perceived the neceſſity of raiſing a pier before Rochelle, but not of forming a navy; the idea of which muſt, however, have been conceived by Henry IV. and his friend Sully. But it was reſerved to the moſt brilliant age of the French nation to give birth to every improvement at once. Lewis, who perceived, at leaſt, all the ideas of grandeur, he did not himſelf diſcover, eſtabliſhed a council for the conſtruction of ſhips in each of the five ports which he opened to the royal or military navy. He formed docks and arſenals; and in leſs than twenty years, the French had one hundred ſhips of the line.

THE French navy firſt exerted its power againſt the people of Barbary, who were beaten. It afterwards obtained ſome advantages over the Spaniards. It then engaged the fleets of England and Holland, ſometimes ſeparately, and ſometimes combined, and generally obtained the honour and advantage of the victory. The firſt memorable

defeat

defeat the French navy experienced, was in 1692, when with forty ſhips, they attacked 90 Engliſh and Dutch ſhips oppoſite La Hogue in order to give the Engliſh a king they rejected, and who was not himſelf very deſirous of the title. The moſt numerous fleet obtained the victory. James the ſecond felt an involuntary pleaſure at the triumph of the people who expelled him; as if at this inſtant the blind love of his country had prevailed within him, over his ambition for the throne. Since that day the naval powers of France have been upon the decline, and have never been re-eſtabliſhed. BOOK XIX.

FROM that period England acquired a ſuperiority, which hath raiſed her to the greateſt proſperity. A people, who are at preſent the moſt conſiderable power at ſea, eaſily perſuade themſelves that they have always held that empire. Sometimes they trace their maritime power to the æra of Julius Cæſar, ſometimes they aſſert that they have ruled over the ocean, at leaſt, ſince the ninth century. Perhaps, ſome day or other, the Corſicans who are at preſent a nation of little conſequence, when they are become a maritime people, will record in their annals that they have always ruled over the Mediterranean. Such is the vanity of mankind, they muſt endeavour to aggrandize themſelves in paſt as well as future ages. Truth alone, that exiſts before all nations and ſurvives them all, informs us, that there hath been no navy in Europe from the chriſtian æra till the

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16th century. The Engliſh themſelves had no need of it, while they remained in poſſeſſion of Normandy and of the coaſts of France.

When Henry VIII, was deſirous of equipping a fleet he was obliged to hire veſſels from Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Dantzic; but eſpecially from Genoa and Venice, who alone knew how to conſtruct and guide a fleet; who ſupplied all the ſailors and admirals; who gave to Europe a Columbus, an Americus, a Cabot, a Verezani, thoſe wonderful men who by their diſcoveries have added ſo much to the extent of the globe. Elizabeth wanted a naval force againſt Spain, and permitted her ſubjects to arm ſhips to act againſt the enemies of the ſtate. This permiſſion formed ſailors for the ſervice. The queen herſelf went to ſee a ſhip that had been round the world; on board of which ſhe embraced Drake, at the time ſhe knighted him. She left forty-two men of war to her ſucceſſors. James the firſt and Charles the firſt, added ſome ſhips to the naval forces they had received from the throne; but the commanders of this navy were choſen from the nobility, who ſatisfied with this mark of diſtinction, left the labours to the pilots; ſo that the art of navigation received no improvements.

There were few noblemen in the party that dethroned the Stuarts. Ships of the line were at that time given to captains of inferior birth, but of uncommon ſkill in navigation. They improved, and rendered the Britiſh navy illuſtrious.

When

When Charles II. reascended the throne, the kingdom was possessed of six and fifty ships. The navy increased under his reign, to the number of eighty-three, fifty-eight of which were ships of the line. Towards the latter days of this prince, it began to decline again. But, his brother, James II. restored it to its former lustre, and raised it even to a greater degree of splendour. Being himself high admiral before he came to the throne, he had invented the art of regulating the manœuvres of the fleet, by the signals of the flag. Happy, if he had better understood the art of governing a free people! When the prince of Orange, his son-in-law, became possessed of his crown, the English navy consisted of one hundred and sixy-three vessels of all sixes, armed with seven thousand pieces of cannon, and equipped with forty-two thousand men. This force was doubled during the war that was carried on for the Spanish succession. It hath since so considerably increased, that the English think they are able alone to balance by their maritime forces the navy of the whole universe. England is now at sea, what Rome formerly was upon land, when she began to decline.

The English nation considers its navy as the bulwark of its safety, and the source of its riches. On this they found all their hopes in times of peace as well as war. They therefore raise a fleet more willingly, and with greater expedition than

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than a battallion. They ſpare no expence and exert every political art to acquire ſeamen.

REWARDS are firſt propoſed to engage men to enter into the ſervice. The parliament in 1744, decreed, that all prizes taken by a man of war, ſhould belong to the officers and crew of the conquering ſhip. They likewiſe granted an additional gratification of five pounds ſterling to every Engliſhman, who in an engagement, ſhould board, take, or ſink an enemy's ſhip. To lucrative motives, the government adds compulſive meaſures, if they are found neceſſary. In times of war, they ſeize upon ſailors of the mercantile navy.

NOTHING is apparently ſo contradictory to national freedom, as theſe exertions of authority which affect men and commerce at the ſame time. When compulſive meaſures are only employed on account of the neceſſities of the ſtate; they cannot be conſidered as encroachments upon liberty; becauſe their object is the public ſafety, and the particular intereſt even of thoſe who appear to ſuffer by them; and becauſe the ſtate of ſociety requires, that the will of each individual ſhould be ſubſervient to the will of the whole community. Beſides, the ſailors receive the ſame pay from the government, they would have from the merchant, which entirely juſtifies this compulſive meaſure; a meaſure which is always moſt advantageous to the ſtate. The ſailor is no longer at the charge of the public, but while he continues in its ſervice.

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The expeditions are by theſe means carried on with greater ſecrecy and diſpatch; and the crews are never idle. In a word, if it were an evil, it is certainly not a greater one than that perpetual ſlavery, in which all other European ſailors are held.

THE navy is a new kind of power, which muſt change the face of the globe. It hath ſubverted the ancient idea of the balance of power. Germany, which held this balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, hath ceded it to England; which iſland diſpoſes at preſent of the continent. As by means of its ſhips it is in the vicinity of all maritime countries, its power of aſſiſting or doing hurt is extended over a greater number of ſtates. It has, therefore, acquired a greater number of allies, more importance and influence. It is this iſland whoſe empire is eſtabliſhed over America; becauſe it poſſeſſes men and encourages arts in that country inſtead of being ſupplied with gold and the materials of luxury. England is of herſelf, as it were, the lever of the univerſe. She paves the way for the greateſt revolutions; and carries the deſtiny of nations upon her fleets. She is accuſed of aſpiring to be ſole miſtreſs of navigation and trade. This empire which ſhe might, perhaps, obtain for a ſhort time, would occaſion her ruin. Univerſal empire of the ſeas as well as that of the land, are projects equally abſurd.

FRANCE

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France is continually urging the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing an equilibrium of power at ſea: but ſhe is ſuſpected of being deſirous not to have any maſters upon it, in order to have no longer any rivals on the continent. Spain, however, is the only power that has been hitherto perſuaded to join her. It is a happy circumſtance for Europe that the maritime forces ſhould cauſe a diverſion to thoſe of the land. Any power that has its own coaſts to defend, cannot eaſily overcome the barriers of its neighbours. For this purpoſe immenſe preparations are required; numberleſs troops; arſenals of all kinds; and various means and reſources are neceſſary, to carry into execution projects of conqueſt. Since navigation hath prevailed in Europe, it enjoys greater ſecurity at home, and has obtained a more conſiderable influence abroad. Its wars are, perhaps, neither leſs frequent, nor leſs ſanguinary; but it ſuffers leſs ravage, and is leſs weakened by them. The operations are carried on with greater harmony, and with better connected plans, and there are fewer of thoſe great effects that throw all ſyſtems into confuſion. There are greater efforts and leſs evils ariſing from them. All the various paſſions of men ſeemed directed towards one general good, one grand political view, one happy exertion of all natural and moral faculties; which is commerce.

Commerce.

If the art of navigation aroſe from fiſhing, as that of war did from the chace; the navy then owes

owes its exiſtence to commerce. The deſire of gain firſt induced us to make voyages; and one world hath been conquered to enrich another. This object of conqueſt has been the foundation of commerce; in order to ſupport commerce, naval forces have become neceſſary, which are themſelves produced by the trading navigation. The Phenicians, ſituated on the borders of the ſea at the confines of Aſia and Africa, to receive and diſpenſe all the riches of the ancient world, founded their colonies and built their cities, with no other view but that of commerce. At Tyre, they were the maſters of the Mediterranean; at Carthage, they laid the foundations of a republic that traded by the ocean upon the richeſt of the European coaſts.

THE Greeks ſucceeded the Phenicians; as the Romans did the Carthaginians and the Greeks; they held the dominion of the ſea as well as of the land; but they carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own uſe, all the riches of Africa, Aſia, and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had loſt all her acquiſitions, commerce returned, as it were, to its original ſource towards the eaſt. There it was eſtabliſhed, while the Barbarians over-ran Europe. The empire was divided; the din of arms, and the art of war remained in the weſt; Italy however preſerved its communication with the Levant, where all the treaſures of India were circulated.

THE

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THE Cruſades exhauſted in Aſia all the rage of zeal and ambition, of war and fanaticiſm, with which the Europeans were poſſeſſed: but they were the cauſe of introducing into Europe a taſte for Aſiatic luxury; and redeemed by giving riſe to ſome degree of traffic and induſtry, the blood and the lives they had coſt. Three centuries taken up in wars and voyages to the eaſt, gave to the reſtleſs ſpirit of Europe a recruit it ſtood in need of; that it might not periſh by a kind of internal conſumption: they prepared the way for that exertion of genius and activity, which ſince aroſe, and diſplayed itſelf in the conqueſt and trade of the Weſt-Indies, and of America.

THE Portugueſe attempted by degrees to double the African coaſt. They ſucceſſively ſeized upon all the points, and all the ports that muſt neceſſarily lead them to the Cape of Good Hope. They were engaged, for the ſpace of fourſcore years, in making themſelves maſters of all that weſtern coaſt, where this great cape terminates In 1497, Vaſco de Gama ſurmounted this barrier; and returning by the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, arriving by a paſſage of twelve hundred leagues at the coaſt of Malabar, where all the treaſures of the richeſt countries of Aſia were to be circulated. This was the ſcene on which the Portugueſe diſplayed all their conqueſts.

WHILE this nation made itſelf maſter of the articles of trade, the Spaniards ſeized upon that which purchaſes them, the mines of gold and ſilver.

ſilver. Theſe metals became not only a ſtandard to regulate the value, but alſo the object of commerce. In this double uſe they ſoon engroſſed all the reſt. All nations were in want of them to facilitate the exchange of their commodities, and obtain the conveniencies they ſtood in need of. The luxury and the circulation of money in the ſouth of Europe, changed the nature as well as the direction of commerce, at the ſame time that it extended its bounds.

But the two nations that had ſubdued the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, neglected arts and agriculture. They imagined every thing was to be obtained by gold, without conſidering that it is labour alone that procures it: they were convinced, though late, and at their own expence, that the induſtry which they loſt, was more valuable than the riches they acquired; and the Dutch taught them this ſevere inſtruction.

The Spaniards though poſſeſſed of all the gold in the world remained or became poor; the Dutch preſently acquired riches, without either lands or mines. Holland is a nation at the ſervice of all the reſt, but who ſells her ſervices at a high price. As ſoon as ſhe had taken refuge in the midſt of the ſea, with induſtry and freedom, which are her tutelary gods, ſhe perceived that ſhe had not a ſufficient quantity of land to ſupport the ſixth part of her inhabitants. She then choſe the whole world for her domain, and reſolved to enjoy it by her navigation and commerce. She made all

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lands contribute to her ſubſiſtence; and all nations ſupply her with the conveniencies of life. Between the north and the ſouth of Europe, ſhe became what Flanders had been before, from which ſhe had divided, in order to form an independent ſtate entirely unconnected with it. Bruges and Antwerp had attracted Italy and Germany into their ports; Holland in her turn became the ſtaple of all commercial powers, rich or poor. Not ſatisfied with inviting all other nations, ſhe viſited them herſelf, in order to procure from one what was wanted by another; to convey to the north, the merchandiſe of the ſouth; to ſell to the Spaniard ſhips for cargoes, and to exchange upon the Baltic wine for wood. She imitated the ſtewards and farmers of large eſtates, who by the immenſe profits they make in them, are enabled ſooner or later to buy them up. Spain and Portugal have as it were been the cauſe that Holland has ſucceeded in taking from thoſe powers part of their conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and almoſt the whole of the profit of their colonies. She availed herſelf of the indolence of theſe proud conquerors; and by her activity and vigilance, obtained the key of their treaſures, leaving them nothing but the cheſt, which ſhe took care to empty as faſt as they repleniſhed it. It is thus that a people of little refinement ruined two nations of polite and noble manners; but at the moſt honeſt and the moſt lawful game that can be met with in the ſeveral combinations of chance.

EVERY

EVERY circumſtance was favourable to the riſe and progreſs of the commerce of this republic. Its poſition on the borders of the ſea, at the mouths of ſeveral great rivers; its proximity to the moſt fertile or beſt cultivated lands of Europe: its natural connections with England and Germany, which defended it againſt France; the little extent and fertility of its own territory which obliged the inhabitants to become fiſhermen, ſailors, brokers, bankers, carriers, and commiſſaries; in a word, to endeavour to live by induſtry for want of territory. Moral cauſes contributed with thoſe of the climate and the ſoil, to eſtabliſh and advance its proſperity. The liberty of its government, which opened an aſylum to all ſtrangers diſſatisfied with their own; the freedom of its religion, which permitted a public and quiet profeſſion of all other modes of worſhip; that is to ſay, the agreement of the voice of nature with that of conſcience, of intereſts with duty; in a word, that toleration, that univerſal religion of all equitable and enlightened minds, friends to heaven and earth; to God, as to their father; to men, as to their brethren. In ſhort, this commercial republic found out the ſecret of availing itſelf of all events, and of making even the calamities and vices of other nations concur in advancing its felicity. It turned to its own advantage the civil wars which fanaticiſm raiſed among people of a reſtleſs ſpirit, or which patriotiſm excited among a free people; it profited by the indolence

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dolence and ignorance which bigotry ſupported among two nations who were under the influence of the imagination.

THIS ſpirit of induſtry in Holland, with which was intermixed a conſiderable ſhare of that political art which ſows the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſcord among the nations, at length excited the attention of other powers. The Engliſh were the firſt to perceive that traffic might be carried on without the interpoſition of the Dutch. England, where the attempts of deſpotiſm had given birth to liberty, becauſe they were antecedent to corruption and effeminacy, was deſirous of obtaining riches by labour which alleviate the burden of it. The Engliſh firſt conſidered commerce as the proper ſcience and ſupport of an enlightened, powerful and even a virtuous people. They conſidered it rather as an improvement of induſtry than an acquiſition of enjoyments; rather as an encouragement and a ſource of activity among the people, than a promoter of luxury and magnificence. Invited to trade by their ſituation, this became the ſpirit of their government, and the means of their ambition. All their ſchemes tended to this great object. In other monarchies, trade is carried on by the common people; in this happy conſtitution by the ſtate or the whole nation: ſhe carries it on indeed with a conſtant deſire of dominion, which implies that of enſlaving other people, but by means, at leaſt, that conſtitute the happineſs of the world before it is ſubdued. By war, the conqueror

queror is little happier than the conquered; because injuries and maſſacres are their mutual object: but by commerce, the conquering people neceſſarily introduce induſtry into the country, which they would not have ſubdued if it had been already induſtrious, or which they would not maintain, if they had not brought induſtry in along with them. Upon theſe principles England had founded her commerce and her empire, and mutually and alternately extended one by the other. BOOK XIX.

THE French, ſituated under as favourable a ſky, and upon as happy a ſoil, have for a long time flattered themſelves with the idea that they had much to give to other nations, without being under a neceſſity of aſking ſcarce any return. But Colbert was ſenſible that in the fermentation Europe was in at this time, there would be an evident advantage for the culture and productions of a country that ſhould employ thoſe of the whole world. He opened manufactures for all the arts. The woollens, ſilks, dyes, embroideries, the gold and ſilver ſtuffs, were brought to ſo great a degree of refinement in luxury and taſte in the hands of the French, that they were in great requeſt among thoſe nobles who were in poſſeſſion of the greateſt landed property. To increaſe the produce of the arts, it was neceſſary to procure the firſt materials, and theſe could only be ſupplied by direct commerce. The chances of navigation had given France ſome poſſeſſions in the new world, as they had to all the plunderers that had frequented the

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ſea. The ambition of ſome individuals had formed colonies there, which had been at firſt ſupported and even aggrandized by the trade of the Dutch and the Engliſh. A national navy muſt neceſſarily reſtore to the mother country this natural connection with its coloniſts. The government, therefore, eſtabliſhed its naval forces upon the ſtrength of its commercial navigation. The nation would then neceſſarily make a double profit upon the materials and the workmanſhip of the manufactures. The French purſued for a long time this precarious and temporary object of commerce, with an activity and ſpirit of emulation which muſt have made them greatly ſurpaſs their rivals; and they ſtill enjoy that ſuperiority over other nations, in all thoſe arts of luxury and ornament which procure riches to induſtry.

THE natural volatility of the national character and its propenſity to trifling purſuits, hath brought treaſures to the ſtate, by the taſte that has fortunately prevailed for its faſhions. Like to that light and delicate ſex, which teaches and inſpires us with a taſte for dreſs, the French reign in all courts, at leaſt, by the toilet; and their art of pleaſing is one of the myſterious ſources of their fortune and power. Other nations have ſubdued the world by thoſe ſimple and ruſtic manners, which conſtitute the virtues that are fit for war; to them it was given to reign over it by their vices. Their empire will continue, till they are degraded and enſlaved by their maſters by exertions of authority equally arbitrary

bitrary and unlimited, when they will become contemptible in their own eyes. Then, they will loſe, with their confidence in themſelves, that induſtry, which is one of the ſources of their opulence and of the ſprings of their activity. They will ſoon have neither manufactures, colonies nor trade.

THIS taſte for luxury and eaſe hath given riſe to a new principle of the moral world, which hath inſinuated itſelf by degrees, till it is become, as it were, neceſſary to the exiſtence of political bodies: it hath produced the love of labour, which at preſent conſtitutes the chief ſtrength of a ſtate. The ſedentary occupations of the mechanic arts indeed, render men more liable to be affected by the injuries of the ſeaſons, leſs fit to be expoſed to the open air which is the firſt nutritive principle of life. But ſtill, it is better that the human race ſhould be enervated under the roofs of the workſhops, than inured to hardſhips under tents; becauſe war deſtroys, while commerce on the contrary gives new life to every thing. By this uſeful revolution in manners, the general maxims of politics have altered the face of Europe. It is no longer a people immerſed in poverty that becomes formidable to a rich nation. Power is at preſent an attendant on riches, becauſe they are no longer the fruit of conqueſt, but the produce of conſtant labour, and of a life ſpent in perpetual employment. Gold and ſilver corrupt only thoſe indolent minds which indulge in the delights of luxury,

BOOK XIX. upon that ſtage of intrigue and meanneſs, that is called greatneſs. But theſe metals employ the hands and arms of the people; they excite a ſpirit of agriculture in the fields; of navigation in the maritime cities; and in the center of the ſtate they lead to the manufacturing of arms, cloathing, furniture, and the conſtruction of buildings. A ſpirit of emulation exiſts between man and nature; they are perpetually improving each other. The people are formed and faſhioned by the arts they profeſs. If there are ſome occupations which ſoften and degrade the human race, there are others by which it is hardened and repaired. If it be true that art renders them unnatural, they do not, at leaſt, propagate in order to deſtroy themſelves, as among the barbarous nations in heroic times. It is certainly an eaſy, as well as a captivating ſubject, to deſcribe the Romans with the ſingle art of war, ſubduing all the other arts, all other nations indolent or commercial, civilized or ſavage; breaking or deſpiſing the vaſes of Corinth, more happy with their gods made of clay, than with the golden ſtatues of their worthleſs emperors. But it is a more pleaſing, and perhaps, a nobler ſight, to behold all Europe peopled with laborious nations, who are continually ſailing round the globe, in order to cultivate and render it fit for mankind; to ſee them animate by the enlivening breath of induſtry, all the regenerating powers of nature; ſeek in the abyſs of the ocean, and in the bowels of rocks, for new means of ſubſiſt-

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ence, or new enjoyments; ſtir and raiſe up the earth with all the mechanic powers invented by genius; eſtabliſh between the two hemiſpheres by the happy improvements in the art of navigation, a communication of flying bridges, as it were, that re-unite one continent to the other; purſue all the tracks of the ſun, overcome its annual barriers, and paſs from the tropics to the poles upon the wings of the wind; in a word to ſee them open all the ſtreams of population and pleaſure, in order to pour them upon the face of the earth through a thouſand channels. It is then, pehaps, that the divinity contempletes his work with ſatisfaction, and does not repent himſelf of having made man.

Such is the image of commerce; let us now admire the genius of the merchant. The ſame underſtanding that Newton had to calculate the motion of the ſtars, he exerts in tracing the progreſs of the commercial people that fertilize the earth. His problems are the more difficult to reſolve, as the circumſtances of them are not taken from the immutable laws of nature, as the ſyſtems of the geometrician are; but depend upon the caprices of men, and the uncertainty of a thouſand events. That accurate ſpirit of combination that Cromwell and Richelieu muſt have had, the one to deſtroy, the other, to eſtabliſh deſpotic government, the merchant alſo poſſeſſes and carries it further: for he takes in both worlds at one view, and directs his operations upon an infinite variety

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of relative conſiderations, which it is ſeldom given to the ſtateſman, or even to the philoſopher, to comprehend and eſtimate. Nothing muſt eſcape him; he muſt foreſee the influence of the ſeaſons, upon the plenty, the ſcarcity, and the quality of proviſions; upon the departure or return of his ſhips; the influence of political affairs upon thoſe of commerce; the changes which war or peace muſt neceſſarily occaſion in the prices and demands for merchandiſe, in the quantity and choice of proviſions, in the ſtate of the cities and ports of the whole world; he muſt know the conſequences that an alliance of the two northern nations may have under the torrid zone; the progreſs, either towards aggrandizement or decay, of the ſeveral trading companies; the effect that the fall of any European power in India, may have over Africa and America; the ſtagnation that may be produced in certain countries, by the blocking up of ſome channels of induſtry; the reciprocal connection there is between moſt branches of trade, and the mutual aſſiſtances they lend by the temporary injuries they ſeem to inflict upon each other; he muſt know the proper time to begin, and when to ſtop in every new undertaking: in a word, he muſt be acquainted with the art of making all other nations tributary to his own, and of increaſing his own fortune by increaſing the proſperity of his country; or rather he muſt know how to enrich himſelf by extending the general proſperity of mankind. Such are the objects that the

the profeſſion of the merchant engages him to attend to. BOOK XIX.

It is alſo the trader's peculiar buſineſs to ſearch into the receſſes of the human heart, and to treat with his equals apparently, as if they were honeſt, but, in reality, as if they were men of no probity. Commerce is a ſcience that equally requires the knowledge of men and of things. Its difficulty ariſes undoubtedly leſs from the variety of objects about which it is converſant, than from the avidity of thoſe who are engaged in it. If emulation increaſes the concurrence of efforts, jealouſy prevents their ſucceſs. If intereſt is the vice that deſtroys profeſſions in general, what muſt be its effects upon that in particular to which it owes its exiſtence? The avidity with which it is carried on is the cauſe of its deſtruction. The thirſt of gain ſpreads over commerce a ſpirit of avarice that lays a reſtraint upon every thing, even the means of amaſſing.

Is that competition between different governments which induces them to reſtrain general induſtry by mutual prohibitions, to be aſcribed to the merchant; or to that tyrannical exertion of authority, which in order to acquire riches without the aſſiſtance of commerce, lays a reſtraint on all branches of induſtry by ſubjecting them to corporations? Certainly on the latter; for all theſe ſocieties deſtroy the very ſpirit of commerce, which is liberty. To compel the indigent man to pay for the privilege of working, is to condemn him

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at once to idleneſs by the indigence he is reduced to, and to become indigent through idleneſs; it is to diminiſh the ſum total of national labour; to impoveriſh the people by enriching the ſtate; and to deſtroy them both.

THE jealouſy of trade between ſtates is only a ſecret conſpiracy to ruin each other, without any particular benefit to any one. Thoſe who govern the people, exert the ſame ſkill in guarding againſt the induſtry of the nations, as in preſerving themſelves from the intrigues of the great. One individual alone, who is mean and deſtitute of every principle, is able to introduce a hundred reſtraints into Europe. New chains are contrived with as much expedition as deſtructive weapons. Prohibitions in commerce, and extortions in the finance, have given riſe to ſmugglers and galley ſlaves, to cuſtoms and monopolies, to pirates and exciſemen. Centinels and obſtacles are placed in every part of the ſea and of the land. The traveller enjoys no repoſe, the merchant no property; both are equally expoſed to all the artifices of an inſidious legiſlation, that gives riſe to crimes by its prohibitions, and to penalties by crimes. They become culpable without knowing it, or without deſign: they are arreſted, plundered and taxed, though innocent. The rights of the people are violated by their protectors; and thoſe of the citizen by himſelf: the courtier is conſtantly endeavouring to diſquiet the ſtateſman; and the contractor oppreſſes the merchant. Such is the ſtate of commerce in time of peace.

peace. But what ſhall we ſay of commercial wars? BOOK XIX.

It is natural enough, for a people pent up in the icy regions of the north, to dig out iron from the bowels of the earth that refuſes them ſubſiſtence; and to reap the harveſt of another nation by force of arms: hunger, which is reſtrained by no laws, cannot violate any, and ſeems to plead an excuſe for theſe hoſtilities. Men muſt neceſſarily live by plunder, when they have no corn. But, when a nation enjoys the privilege of an extenſive commerce, and can ſupply ſeveral other ſtates from its ſuperfluity; what motive can induce it to declare war againſt other induſtrious nations; to obſtruct their navigation and their labours; in a word, to forbid them to live on pain of death? Why does it arrogate to itſelf an excluſive branch of trade, a right of fiſhing and ſailing, as if it were a matter of property, and as if the ſea were to be divided into acres as well as the land? The motives of ſuch wars are eaſily diſcovered: we know that the jealouſy of commerce is nothing more than a jealouſy of power. But have any people a right to obſtruct a work they cannot execute themſelves, and to condemn another nation to indolence, becauſe they themſelves chuſe to be entirely given up to it?

How unnatural and contradictory an expreſſion is a war of commerce! Commerce is the ſource and means of ſubſiſtence; war of deſtruction. Commerce may, poſſibly, give riſe to war, and con-

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continue it; but war puts a ſtop to every branch of commerce. Whatever advantage one nation may derive from another in trade, becomes a motive of induſtry and emulation to both: in war, on the contrary, the injury affects both; for plunder, fire and ſword can neither improve lands, nor enrich mankind. The wars of commerce are ſo much the more fatal, as by the preſent ſuperiority of the maritime powers over thoſe of the continent, and of Europe over the three other parts of the world, the conflagration becomes general; and that the diſſentions of two maritime powers excite the ſpirit of diſcord among all their allies, and occaſion inactivity even among the neutral powers.

Coasts and ſeas ſtained with blood and covered with dead bodies; the horrors of war extending from pole to pole, between Africa, Aſia and America, as well throughout the ſea that ſeparates us from the new world, as throughout the vaſt extent of the pacific ocean: ſuch has been the ſpectacle exhibited in the two laſt wars, in which all the powers of Europe have been alternately ſhaken, or have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome remarkable exertion. The earth, however, was depopulated, and commerce did not ſupply the loſſes it had ſuſtained; the lands were exhauſted by taxes, and the channels of navigation did not aſſiſt the progreſs of agriculture. The loans of the ſtate previouſly ruined the fortunes of the citizens by uſurious profits, the forerunners of bankruptcy.

Even

Even thoſe powers that were victorious oppreſſed by the conqueſts they had made, and having acquired a greater extent of land than they could keep or cultivate, were involved in the ruin of their enemies. The neutral powers who were deſirous of enriching themſelves in peace, in the midſt of this commotion were expoſed and tamely ſubmitted to inſults more diſgraceful than the defeats of an open war.

How highly impolitic are thoſe commercial wars, equally injurious to all the nations concerned, without being advantageous to ſuch as are not engaged in them; thoſe wars where the ſailors become ſoldiers, and the merchant ſhips are turned into privateers; where the traffic between the mother countries and their colonies is interrupted, and the price of their reciprocal commodities is raiſed!

What a ſource of political abuſes ariſes from thoſe treaties of commerce which are productive of war! Thoſe excluſive privileges which one nation acquires from another, either for a traffic of luxury, or for the neceſſaries of life! A general freedom granted to induſtry and commerce is the only treaty which a maritime power ſhould enforce at home, or negociate abroad. Such a conduct would make the people who purſued it be conſidered as the benefactors of the human race. The more labour was encouraged upon land, and the greater number of ſhips there were at ſea, ſo much the more important to them would be the advantages they purſue and obtain by negociations and

by

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by war. For there will be no increaſe of riches in any country, if there be no induſtry among its neighbours, who can acquire nothing but by articles of exchange, or by the means of gold and ſilver. But without commerce and induſtry neither metals, nor manufactures of value can be obtained; nor can either of theſe ſources of riches exiſt without liberty. The indolence of one nation is prejudicial to all the reſt, either by increaſing their labour, or by depriving them of what it ought to produce. The effect of the preſent ſyſtem of commerce and induſtry is the total ſubverſion of order.

THE want of the fine fleeces of Spain is retrieved by the flocks of England, and the ſilk manufactures of Italy are carried on even in Germany; the wines of Portugal might be improved, were it not for the excluſive privileges granted to a particular company. The mountains of the north and ſouth would be ſufficient to ſupply Europe with wood and metals, and the vallies would produce a greater plenty of corn and fruits. Manufactures would be raiſed in barren countries, if theſe could be ſupplied with plenty of the neceſſaries of life by a free circulation. Whole provinces would not be left uncultivated in the heart of a country in order to fertilize ſome unwholeſome moraſſes, where, while the people are ſupported by the productions of the land, the influence of the air and the water tends to their deſtruction. We ſhould not ſee all the rich produce of com-

merce

merce confined to particular cities of a large kingdom, as the privileges and fortunes of the whole people are to particular families. Circulation would be quicker, and the conſumption increaſed. Each province would cultivate its favourite production, and each family its own little field: and under every roof there would be one child to ſpare for the purpoſes of navigation and the improvement of the arts. Europe, like China, would ſwarm with multitudes of induſtrious people.—Upon the whole, the freedom of trade would inſenſibly produce that univerſal peace which a brave but humane monarch once conſidered not as merely chimerical. The ſyſtem of the happineſs of nations ariſing from the improvement of reaſon would be founded on a turn for calculation and the ſpirit of oeconomy, which would prove a more effectual ſecurity of morals, than the viſionary ideas of ſuperſtition. Theſe preſently diſappear as ſoon as paſſions exert themſelves, while reaſon gains ſtrength and advances to maturity along with them. BOOK XIX.

COMMERCE, which naturally ariſes from agriculture, returns to it by its own tendency and by the circulation it occaſions: thus, the rivers return to the ſea, which has produced them by the exhalations of its waters into vapours, and by the fall of thoſe vapours when changed into waters. The quantity of gold brought by the tranſportation and conſumption of the fruits of the earth, returns into its boſom, and reproduces all Agriculture.

the

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the neceſſaries of life, and the materials of commerce. If the lands are not cultivated, all commerce is precarious, becauſe it is deprived of its principal ſupplies, which are the productions of nature. Nations that are only maritime or commercial, enjoy, it is true, the fruits of commerce; but the origin of it is to be found among thoſe people that are ſkilled in the cultivation of land. Agriculture is, therefore, the chief and real opulence of a ſtate. The Romans in the intoxication of their conqueſts, by which they had obtained the poſſeſſion of all the earth without cultivating it, were ignorant of this truth. It was unknown to the Barbarians, who, deſtroying by the ſword an empire that had been eſtabliſhed by it, abandoned to ſlaves the cultivation of the lands, of which they reſerved to themſelves the fruits and the property. Even in the age ſubſequent to the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, this truth was unattended to; whether in Europe the people were too much engaged in wars of ambition or religion to conſider it; or, whether the conqueſts made by Portugal and Spain beyond the ſeas, having brought us treaſures without labour, we contented ourſelves with enjoying them by encouraging luxury and the arts, before any method had been thought of to ſecure theſe riches.

But the time came, when plunder ceaſed having no object on which it could be exerciſed. When the conquered lands in the new world, after having been much conteſted for, were divided,

vided, it became neceſſary to cultivate them, and to ſupport the coloniſts who ſettled there. As theſe were natives of Europe, they cultivated for that country ſuch productions as it did not furniſh, and required in return ſuch proviſions as cuſtom had made natural to them. In proportion as the colonies were peopled, and that the number of ſailors and manufacturers increaſed with the increaſe of productions, the lands muſt neceſſarily furniſh a greater quantity of ſubſiſtence for the increaſe of population; and an augmentation of indigenous commodities, for foreign articles of exchange and conſumption. The laborious employment of navigation, and the ſpoiling of proviſions in the tranſport, cauſing a greater loſs of materials and produce, it became neceſſary to cultivate the earth with the greateſt care and aſſiduity, in order to render it more fruitful. The conſumption of American commodities, far from leſſening that of European productions, ſerved only to increaſe and extend it upon all the ſeas, in all the ports, and in all the cities where commerce and induſtry prevailed. Thus the people who were the moſt commercial, neceſſarily became at the ſame time the greateſt promoters of agriculture.

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England firſt conceived the idea of this new ſyſtem. She eſtabliſhed and encouraged it by honours and premiums propoſed to the planters. A medal was ſtruck and preſented to the duke of Bedford, with the following inſcription; *For having*

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ing planted Oak. Triptolemus and Ceres were adored in antiquity only from ſimilar motives; and yet temples and altars are ſtill erected to indolent monks. The God of nature will not ſuffer that mankind ſhould periſh. He hath implanted in all noble and generous minds, in the hearts of all people and of enlightened monarchs, this idea, that labour is the firſt duty of man, and that the moſt important of all labours is that of cultivating the land. The reward that attends agriculture, the ſatisfying of our wants, is the beſt encomium that can be made of it. *If I had a ſubject who could produce two blades of corn inſtead of one*, ſaid a monarch, *I ſhould prefer him to all the men of political genius in the ſtate.* How much is it to be lamented that ſuch a king and ſuch an opinion are merely the fiction of Swift's brain. But a nation that can produce ſuch writers, neceſſarily confirms the truth of this ſublime idea; and accordingly we find that England doubled the produce of its cultivation.

THE example of the Engliſh has excited all other nations that were ſenſible of the value of induſtry, to direct it to its true origin and primary deſtination. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French, who under the adminiſtration of three Cardinals, had ſcarce been allowed to turn their thoughts to public affairs, ventured at length to write on ſubjects of importance, and general utility. The undertaking of a univerſal dictionary of arts and ſciences, brought every great object to view,

view, and exercised the thoughts of every man of genius and knowledge. Montesquieu wrote the spirit of laws, and the boundaries of genius were extended. Natural history was written by a French Pliny, who surpassed Greece and Rome in the knowledge and description of nature; this history, bold and sublime as its subject, warmed the imagination of every reader, and powerfully excited them to such inquiries, as a nation cannot relinquish, without returning into a state of barbarism. In less than twenty years, the French nation became sensible of their real interests. They communicated their knowledge to government, and agriculture, if it was not encouraged by rewards, was, at least, patronized by some ministers.

GERMANY hath felt the happy influence of that spirit of information and knowledge which contributes to fertilize the earth and to multiply its inhabitants. All the northern climates have turned their attention to the improvement of their lands. Even Spain has exerted herself; and though little populous, has however engaged foreign husbandmen to labour in her uncultivated provinces.

IT is a fact somewhat remarkable, though it might naturally be expected, that men should have returned to the exercise of agriculture the first of the arts only after they had successively tried the rest. It is the common progression of the human mind, not to regain the right path, till after it hath exhausted itself in pursuing false tracks. It

BOOK XIX. is always advancing; and as it relinquished agriculture, to pursue commerce and the enjoyments of luxury, it soon traversed over the different arts of life, and returned at last to agriculture, which is the source and foundation of all the rest, and to which it devoted its whole attention, from the same motives of interest that had made it quit it before. Thus the eager and inquisitive man, who voluntarily banishes himself from his country in his youth, wearied with his constant excursions, returns at last to live and die in his native land.

EVERY thing, indeed, depends upon, and arises from the cultivation of land. It forms the internal strength of states; and occasions riches to circulate into them from without. Every power which comes from any other source, is artificial and precarious, either considered in a natural or moral light. Industry and commerce which do not directly affect the agriculture of a country, are in the power of foreign nations, who may either dispute these advantages through emulation, or deprive the country of them through envy. This may be effected either by establishing the same branch of industry among themselves, or by suppressing the exportation of their own unwrought materials, or the importation of those materials when manufactured. But a country well cultivated, occasions an increase of population, and riches are the natural consequence of that increase. This is not the teeth which the dragon sows to bring forth soldiers to destroy each other;

other; it is the milk of Juno, which peoples the heavens with an innumerable multitude of ſtars. BOOK XIX.

THE government, therefore, ſhould rather be attentive to the ſupport of country villages, than of great cities. The firſt may be conſidered as parents and nurſeries always fruitful; the others only as daughters which are often ungrateful and barren. The cities can ſcarce ſubſiſt but from the ſuperfluous part of the population and produce of the countries. Even the fortified places and ports of trade, which ſeem to be connected with the whole world by their ſhips, which diffuſe more riches than they poſſeſs, do not, however, attract all the treaſures they diſpenſe, but by means of the produce of the countries that ſurround them. The tree muſt, therefore, be watered at its root. The cities will only be flouriſhing in proportion as the fields are fruitful.

BUT this fertility depends leſs upon the ſoil than upon the inhabitants. Spain and even Italy, though ſituated under a climate the moſt favourable to agriculture, produce leſs than France or England; becauſe the efforts of nature are impeded in a thouſand ways by the form of their government. In all parts where the people are attached to the country by property, by the ſecurity of their funds and revenues, the lands will flouriſh, in all parts where privileges are not confined to the cities, and labour to the countries, every proprietor will be fond of the inheritance of

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his anceſtors, will increaſe and embelliſh it by aſſiduous cultivation, and his children will be multiplied in proportion to his means, and theſe be increaſed in proportion to his children.

It is, therefore, the intereſt of government to favour the huſbandmen, in preference to all the indolent claſſes of ſociety. Nobility is but an odious diſtinction, when it is not founded upon ſervices of real and evident utility to the ſtate; ſuch as the defence of the nation againſt the encroachments of conqueſt, and againſt the enterpriſes of deſpotiſm. The nobles furniſh only a precarious and oftentimes fatal aſſiſtance; when after having led an effeminate and licentious life in the cities, they can only afford a weak defence for their country upon her fleets and in her armies, and afterwards return to court, to ſollicit as a reward for their baſeneſs, places and honours, which are revolting and burthenſome to the nation. The clergy are a ſet of men uſeleſs, at leaſt, to the earth, even when they are employed in prayer. But when, with ſcandalous morals, they preach a doctrine which is rendered doubly incredible and impracticable from their ignorance and from their example; when, after having diſgraced, diſcredited and overturned religion, by a variety of abuſes, of ſophiſms, of injuſtices and uſurpations, they wiſh to ſupport it be perſecution; then this privileged, indolent and reſtleſs claſs of men, become the moſt dreadful enemies of the ſtate and of the nation. The only good and reſpectable

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part of them that remains, is that portion of the clergy who are moſt deſpiſed and moſt burthened with duty, and who being ſituated among the lower claſs of people in the country, labour, edify, adviſe, comfort and relieve a multitude of unhappy men. BOOK XIX.

THE huſbandmen deſerve to be preferred by government, even to the manufacturers, and the profeſſors of either the mechanical or liberal arts. To encourage and to protect the arts of luxury, and at the ſame time neglect the cultivation of the land, that ſource of induſtry, to which they owe their exiſtence and ſupport, is to forget the order of the ſeveral relations between nature and ſociety. To favour the arts and to neglect agriculture, is the ſame thing as to remove the baſis of a pyramid, in order to finiſh the top. The mechanical arts engage a ſufficient number of hands by the allurement of the riches they procure, by the comforts they ſupply the workmen with, by the eaſe, pleaſures and conveniences that ariſe in cities where the ſeveral branches of induſtry unite. It is the life of the huſbandman that ſtands in need of encouragement for the hard labours it is expoſed to, and of indemnification for the loſſes and vexations it ſuſtains. The huſbandman is placed at a diſtance from every object that can either excite his ambition, or gratify his curioſity. He lives in a ſtate of ſeparation from the diſtinctions and pleaſures of ſociety. He cannot give his children a polite education, without ſending them

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at a distance from him, nor place them in such a situation as may enable them to distinguish and advance themselves by the fortune they may acquire. He does not enjoy the sacrifices he makes for them, while they are educated at a distance from him. In a word, he undergoes all the fatigues that are incident to man, without enjoying his pleasures, unless supported by the paternal care of government. Every thing is burthensome and humiliating to him, even the taxes, the very name of which sometimes makes his condition more wretched than any other.

MEN are naturally attached to the liberal arts by their particular genius, which makes this attachment grow up into a kind of passion; and likewise by the reputation they reflect on those who distinguish themselves in the pursuit of them. It is not possible to admire the works of genius, without esteeming and caressing the persons endowed with that valuable gift of nature. But the man devoted to the labours of husbandry, if he cannot enjoy in quiet what he possesses, and what he gathers; if he is incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, because the sweets of it are taken from him; if the military service, if vassalage and taxes are to deprive him of his child, his cattle, and his corn, nothing remains for him, but to imprecate both the sky and the land that torment him, and to abandon his fields and his country.

A WISE

A WISE government cannot refuſe to pay its principal attention to agriculture, without endangering its very exiſtence: the moſt ready and effectual means of aſſiſting it, is to favour the multiplication of every kind of production, by the moſt free and general circulation. BOOK XIX.

AN unreſtrained liberty in the exchange of commodities, renders a people at the ſame time commercial and attentive to agriculture; it extends the views of the farmer towards trade, and thoſe of the merchant towards cultivation. It connects them to each other by ſuch relations as are regular and conſtant. All men belong equally to the villages and to the cities, and there is a reciprocal communication maintained between the provinces. The circulation of commodities brings on in reality the golden age, in which ſtreams of milk and honey are ſaid to have flowed through the plains. All the lands are cultivated; the meadows are favourable to tillage by the cattle they feed; the growth of corn promotes that of vines, by furniſhing a conſtant and certain ſubſiſtence to him who neither ſows nor reaps, but plants, prunes and gathers.

LET us now conſider the effects of a contrary ſyſtem, and attempt to regulate agriculture, and the circulation of its produce by particular laws; and let us obſerve what calamities will enſue. Power will not only be deſirous of obſerving and being informed of every action, but will even want to aſſume every important act to itſelf, in con-

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consequence of which nothing will succeed. Men will be led like their cattle, or transported like their corn; they will be collected and dispersed at the will of a tyrant to be slaughtered in war, or perish upon fleets, or in different colonies. That which constitutes the life of a state will become its destruction. Neither the lands, nor the people will flourish, and the states will tend quickly to their dissolution, that is, to that separation which is always preceded by the massacre of the people, as well as their tyrants. What will then become of manufactures?

Manufactures.

AGRICULTURE gives birth to the arts, when it becomes general, and is carried to that degree of perfection which gives men leisure to invent, and procure themselves the conveniences of life; and when it has occasioned a population sufficiently numerous to be employed in other labours, besides those which the land requires; then a people must necessarily become either soldiers, navigators, or manufacturers. As soon as war has changed the rude and savage manners of a laborious people; as soon as it has nearly circumscribed the extent of their empire, those men who were before engaged in the exercise of arms, must then apply themselves to the management of the oar, the ropes, the sciffars or the shuttle; in a word, of all the instruments of commerce and industry; for the land, which supported such a number of men without the assistance of their own labour, does not any more stand in need of it. As the arts

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ever have a country of their own, their peculiar place of refuge, where they are carried on and flouriſh in tranquillity, it is eaſier to repair thither in ſearch of them, than to wait at home till they ſhall have grown up, and advanced with the tardy progreſſion of ages, and the favour of chance which preſides over the diſcoveries of genius. Thus every nation of Europe that has had any induſtry, has borrowed the moſt conſiderable ſhare of the arts from Aſia. There invention ſeems to have been coeval with mankind.

The beauty and fertility of thoſe climes hath always produced a moſt numerous race of people, as well as abundance of fruits of all kinds. There, laws and arts, the offspring of genius and tranquillity, have ariſen from the ſettled ſtate of government; and luxury, the ſource of every enjoyment that attends induſtry, has ſprung out of the richneſs of the ſoil. India, China, Perſia and Egypt were in poſſeſſion not only of all the treaſures of nature, but alſo of the moſt brilliant inventions of art. War in theſe countries hath often deſtroyed every monument of genius, but they riſe again out of their own ruins, as well as mankind. Not unlike thoſe laborious ſwarms we ſee periſh in their hives by the wintry blaſt of the north, and which reproduce themſelves in ſpring, retaining ſtill the ſame love of toil and order; there are certain Aſiatic nations which have ſtill preſerved the arts of luxury with the materials that

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ſupply them, notwithſtanding the incurſions and conqueſts of the Tartars.

It was in a country ſucceſſively ſubdued by the Scythians, Romans, and Saracens, that the nations of Europe, which not even chriſtianity nor time could civilize, recovered the arts and ſciences without endeavouring to diſcover them. The Cruſades exhauſted the fanatic zeal of thoſe who engaged in them, and changed their barbarous manners at Conſtantinople. It was by journeying to viſit the tomb of their Saviour, who was born in a manger, and died on a croſs, that they acquired a taſte for magnificence, pomp and wealth. By them the Aſiatic grandeur was introduced into the courts of Europe. Italy, the ſeat from whence religion ſpread her empire over other countries, was the firſt to adopt a ſpecies of induſtry that was of benefit to her temples, the ceremonies of her worſhip, and thoſe proceſſions which ſerve to keep up devotion by means of the ſenſes, when once it has engaged the heart. Chriſtian Rome, after having borrowed her rights from the Eaſtern nations, was ſtill to draw from thence the wealth by which they are ſupported.

Venice, whoſe gallies were ranged under the banner of liberty, could not fail of being induſtrious. The people of Italy eſtabliſhed manufactures, and were a long time in poſſeſſion of all the arts, even when the conqueſt of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies had cauſed the treaſures of the whole world to circulate in Europe. Flanders derived her manual

nual arts from Italy; England obtained thoſe ſhe eſtabliſhed from Flanders; and France borrowed the general induſtry of all countries. Of the Engliſh ſhe purchaſed her ſtocking looms, which work ten times as faſt as the needle. The number of hands unoccupied from the introduction of the loom, were employed in making of lace, which was taken from the Flemings. Paris ſurpaſſed Perſia in her carpets, and Flanders in her tapeſtry, in the elegance of her patterns, and the beauty of her dyes; and excelled Venice in the tranſparency and ſize of her mirrors. France learned to diſpenſe with part of the ſilks ſhe received from Italy, and with Engliſh broad cloths. Germany, together with her iron and copper mines, has always preſerved the ſuperiority ſhe had acquired in melting, tempering, and working up thoſe metals. But the art of giving the poliſh and faſhion to every article that can be concerned in the ornaments of luxury, and the conveniencies of life, ſeems to belong peculiarly to the French; whether it be that, from the vanity of pleaſing others, they find the means of ſucceeding by all the outward appearances of brilliant ſhew; or that in reality grace and eaſe are the conſtant attendants of a people naturally lively and gay, and who by inſtinct are in poſſeſſion of taſte.

EVERY people given to agriculture ought to have arts to employ their materials, and ſhould multiply their productions to maintain their artiſts. Were they acquainted only with the labours of the

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the field, their induſtry muſt be confined in its cauſe, its means, and its effects. Having but few wants and deſires, they would exert themſelves but little, employ fewer hands, and work leſs time. Their cultivation would neither be extended nor improved. Should ſuch a people be poſſeſſed of more arts than materials, they muſt be indebted to ſtrangers, who would ruin their manufactures, by ſinking the price of their articles of luxury, and raiſing the value of their proviſions. But when a people, engaged in agriculture, join induſtry to property, the culture of their produce to the art of working it up, they have then within themſelves every thing neceſſary for their exiſtence and preſervation, every ſource of greatneſs and proſperity. Such a people is endued with a power of accompliſhing every thing they wiſh, and ſtimulated with the deſire of acquiring every thing that is poſſible.

NOTHING is more favourable to liberty than the arts; it may be ſaid to be their element, and that they are, in their nature, citizens of the world. An able artiſt may work in every country, becauſe he works for the world in general. Genius and abilities every where avoid ſlavery, while ſoldiers find it in all parts. When, through the want of toleration in the clergy, the proteſtants were driven out of France, they opened to themſelves a refuge in every civilized ſtate in Europe: but when the jeſuits have been baniſhed from their own country, they have found no aſylum any where; not even

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in Italy, the parent of monachiſm and intole- BOOK
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THE arts multiply the means of acquiring riches, and contribute by a greater diſtribution of wealth to a more equitable repartition of property. Thus is prevented that exceſſive inequality among men, the unhappy conſequence of oppreſſion, tyranny and blind infatuation of a whole people.

MANUFACTURES contribute to the advancement of knowledge and of the ſciences. The torch of induſtry ſerves to enlighten at once a vaſt horizon. No art is ſingle: the greater part of them have their forms, modes, inſtruments and elements in common. The mechanics themſelves have contributed prodigiouſly to extend the ſtudy of mathematics. Every branch of the genealogical tree of ſcience has unfolded itſelf with the progreſs of the arts, as well liberal as manual. Mines, mills, the manufacture and dying of cloth, have enlarged the ſphere of philoſophy and natural hiſtory. Luxury has given riſe to the art of enjoyment, which is entirely dependent on the liberal arts. As ſoon as architecture admits of ornaments without, it brings with it decorations for the inſide of our houſes: while ſculpture and painting are at the ſame time employed in the embelliſhment and adorning of the edifice. The art of deſign is applied to our dreſs and furniture. The pencil, ever fertile in new deſigns, is varying without end its ſketches and ſhades on our ſtuffs and our porcelain. The powers of genius are exerted in

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compoſing at leiſure, maſter-pieces of poetry and eloquence, or thoſe happy ſyſtems of policy and philoſophy, which reſtore to the people their natural rights; and to ſovereigns all their glory, which conſiſts in reigning over the heart and the mind, over the opinion and will of their ſubjects, by the means of reaſon and equity.

THEN it is that the arts produce that ſpirit of ſociety which conſtitutes the happineſs of civil life; which gives relaxation to the more ſerious occupations, by entertainments, ſhews, concerts, converſations, in ſhort, by every ſpecies of agreeable amuſement. Eaſe gives to every virtuous enjoyment an air of liberty, which connects and mingles the ſeveral ranks of men. Buſineſs adds a value or a charm to the pleaſures that are its recompence. Every citizen depending upon the produce of his induſtry for ſubſiſtence, has leiſure for all the agreeable or toilſome occupations of life, as well as that repoſe of mind which leads on to the ſweets of ſleep. Many indeed fall victims to avarice, but ſtill leſs than to war or religious zeal; the continual ſcourges of an idle people.

AFTER the cultivation of the land, the encouragement of the arts and ſciences is the next object that deſerves the attention of man. At preſent, both ſerve to conſtitute the ſtrength of civilized governments. If the arts have tended to weaken mankind, then the weaker people muſt have prevailed over the ſtrong; for the balance of

of Europe is in the hands of thoſe nations, who are in poſſeſſion of the arts. BOOK XIX.

SINCE manufactures have prevailed in Europe, the human heart, as well as the mind, have changed their bent and diſpoſition. The deſire of wealth has ariſen in all parts from the love of pleaſure. We no longer ſee any people ſatisfied with being poor, becauſe poverty is no longer the bulwark of liberty. We are obliged, indeed, to confeſs that the arts in this world ſupply the place of virtues. Induſtry may occaſion vices; but, it baniſhes, however, thoſe of idleneſs, which are infinitely more dangerous. As information gradually diſpels every ſpecies of fanaticiſm, while men are employed for the gratifications of luxury, they do not deſtroy one another through ſuperſtition. At leaſt, human blood is never ſpilt without ſome appearance of intereſt; and war, probably, deſtroys only thoſe violent and turbulent men, who in every ſtate are born to be enemies to and diſturbers of all order, without any other talent, any other propenſity than that of doing miſchief. The arts reſtrain that ſpirit of diſſention, by ſubjecting man to ſtated and daily employments. They beſtow on every rank of life the means and the hopes of enjoyment, and give even the meaneſt a kind of eſtimation and importance by the advantage that reſults from them. A workman at forty has been of more real value to the ſtate than a whole family of vaſſals who were employed in tillage under the old feudal ſyſtem. An opulent manufac-

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ture brings more benefit into a village than twenty caſtles of ancient barons, whether hunters or warriors, ever conferred on their province.

If it be a fact, that in the preſent ſtate of things the people who are the moſt induſtrious, ought to be the moſt happy and the moſt powerful, either becauſe, in wars that are unavoidable, they furniſh of themſelves, or purchaſe by their wealth, more ſoldiers, more ammunition, more forces, both for ſea or land ſervice; or that having a greater intereſt in maintaining peace, they avoid conteſts, or terminate them by negociation; or that, in caſe of a defeat, they the more readily repair their loſſes by the effect of labour; or that they are bleſſed with a milder and more enlightened government, notwithſtanding the means of corruption and ſlavery that tyranny is ſupplied with by the effeminacy which luxury produces; in a word, if the arts really civilize nations, a ſtate ought to neglect no opportunity of making manufactures flouriſh.

These opportunities depend on the climate, which, as Polybius ſays, forms the character, complexion and manners of nations. The moſt temperate climate muſt neceſſarily be the moſt favourable to that kind of induſtry, which requires leſs exertion. If the climate be too hot, it is inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, which want the concurrence of ſeveral perſons together to carry on the ſame work; and excludes all thoſe arts which employ furnaces, or ſtrong lights. If the climate prove too cold, it is not

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proper for thoſe arts which can only be carried on in the open air. At too great or too ſmall a diſtance from the equator, man is unfit for ſeveral labours, which ſeems peculiarly adapted to a mild temperature. In vain did Peter the Great ſearch among the beſt regulated ſtates for all ſuch arts as were beſt calculated to civilize his people: during a period of fifty years, not one of theſe principles of civilization has been able to flouriſh among the frozen regions of Ruſſia. All artiſts are ſtrangers in that land, and if they endeavour to reſide there, their talents and their works ſoon die with them. When Lewis XIV. in his old age (as if that were the time of life for ſeverity) perſecuted the proteſtants, in vain did they introduce their arts and trades among the people who received them; they were no longer able to work in the ſame manner as they had done in France. Though they were equally active and laborious, the arts they had introduced were loſt or declined, from not having the advantage of the ſame climate and heat to animate them.

To the favourable diſpoſition of climate, for the encouragement of manufactures, ſhould be united the advantage of the political ſituation of the ſtate. When it is of ſuch extent as to have nothing to fear or want in point of ſecurity; when it is in the neighbourhood of the ſea for the landing of its materials, and the ſale of its manufactures; when it is ſituated between powers that have iron mines to employ its induſtry, and others

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that have mines of gold to reward it; when it has nations on each ſide with ports and roads open on every quarter; ſuch a ſtate will have all the external advantages neceſſary to excite a people to open a variety of manufactures.

But one advantage ſtill more eſſential is fertility of ſoil. If cultivation requires too many hands, there will be a want of labourers, or the manufacturers will employ ſo many hands, that there will not be men enough to cultivate the fields; and this muſt occaſion a dearneſs of proviſions, which, while it raiſes the price of workmanſhip, will alſo diminiſh the number of trades.

Where fertility of ſoil is wanting, manufactures require, at leaſt, as few men to be employed as poſſible. A nation that ſhould expend much on its mere ſubſiſtence would abſorb the whole profits of its induſtry. When the gratifications of luxury are greater or more expenſive than the means of ſupplying them, the ſource from which they are derived is loſt, and they can no longer be ſupported. If the workman will feed and clothe himſelf like the manufacturer who employs him, the manufacture is ſoon ruined. The degree of frugality that republican nations adhere to from motives of virtue, the manufacturer ought to obſerve from views of parſimony. This may be the reaſon, perhaps, that the arts, even thoſe of luxury, are more adapted to republics than monarchies; for under monarchical inſtitutions, poverty is not always the ſharpeſt ſpur with the people to induſtry.

induſtry. Labour, proceeding from hunger is narrow and confined like the appetite it ſprings from; but the work that ariſes from ambition ſpreads and increaſes as naturally as the vice itſelf.

National character has conſiderable influence over the progreſs of the arts relative to luxury and ornament. A particular people is fitted for invention by that levity which naturally inclines them to novelty. The ſame nation is fitted for the arts, by their vanity, which inclines them to the ornament of dreſs. Another nation leſs lively, has leſs taſte for trivial matters, and is not fond of changing faſhions. Being of a more ſerious turn theſe people are more inclined to indulge in exceſſes of the table, and to drinking which relieves them from all anxiety and apprehenſion. Of theſe nations, the one muſt ſucceed better than its rival in the arts of decoration, and muſt have the preference over it among all the other nations which are fond of the ſame arts.

The advantages which manufactures derive from nature, are further ſeconded by the form of government. While induſtry is favourable to national liberty, that in return ſhould aſſiſt induſtry. Excluſive privileges are enemies to commerce and the arts, which are to be encouraged only by competition. Even the rights of apprenticeſhip, and the value ſet on corporations, are a kind of monopoly. The ſtate is prejudiced by that ſort of privilege, which favours incorporated trades; that

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is, petty communities are protected at the expence of the greater body. By taking from the lower claſs of the people the liberty of chooſing the profeſſion that ſuits them, every profeſſion is filled with bad workmen. Such as require greater talents are exerciſed by thoſe who are the moſt wealthy; the meaner, and leſs expenſive, fall often to the ſhare of men born to excel in ſome ſuperior art. As both are engaged in a profeſſion for which they have no taſte, they neglect their work, and prejudice the art: the firſt becauſe they have no abilities; the latter, becauſe they are convinced that their abilities are ſuperior to it. But if we remove the impediment of corporate bodies, we ſhall produce a rivalſhip in the workmen, and conſequently, the work will increaſe as well as be more perfect.

It may be a queſtion, whether it be beneficial to collect manufactures in large towns, or to diſperſe them over the country. This point is determined by facts. The arts of primary neceſſity have remained where they were firſt produced, in thoſe places which have furniſhed the materials for them. Forges are in the neighbourhood of the mine, and linen near the flax. But the complicated arts of induſtry and luxury cannot be carried on in the country. If we diſperſe over a large extent of territory all the arts, which are combined in watch and clock-making, we ſhall ruin Geneva with all the works that ſupport it. The perfection of ſtuffs requires their being made in a town, where

where fine dyes may at once be united with beautiful patterns, and the art of working up woollens and ſilks with that of making gold and ſilver lace. If there are wanting eighteen hands to make a pin, through how many manual arts, and artificers muſt a laced coat, or an embroidered waiſtcoat paſs? How ſhall we be able to find amidſt an interior central province the immenſe apparatus of arts that contribute to the furniſhing of a palace, or the entertainments of a court. Thoſe arts, therefore, that are moſt ſimple and connected with others, muſt be confined to the country; and ſuch cloaths as are fit for the lower claſs of people muſt be made in the provinces. We muſt eſtabliſh between the capital and the other towns a reciprocal dependence of wants and conveniences, of materials and works; but ſtill nothing muſt be done by authority or compulſion, workmen muſt be left to act for themſelves Let there be freedom of traffic, and freedom of induſtry; and manufactures will proſper, population will increaſe.

Population.

HAS the world been more peopled at one time than another? This is not to be aſcertained from hiſtory, on account of the deficiency of hiſtorians in one half of the globe that has been inhabited, and becauſe one half of what is related by hiſtorians, is fabulous. Who has ever taken or could at any time take an account of the inhabitants of the earth? She was, it is ſaid, more fruitful in earlier times. But when was the period of this

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golden age? Was it when a dry ſand aroſe from the bed of the ſea, purged itſelf in the rays of the ſun; and cauſed the ſlime to produce vegetables, animals and human creatures? But the whole ſurface of the earth muſt alternately have been covered by the ocean. The earth has then always had, like the individuals of every ſpecies, an infant ſtate, a ſtate of weakneſs and ſterility before ſhe arrived at the age of fecundity. All countries have been for a long time buried under water, laying uncultivated beneath ſands and moraſſes, wild and overgrown with buſhes and foreſts, till the human ſpecies, being thrown by accident on theſe deſerts and ſolitudes, has cleared, altered and peopled the land. But as all the cauſes of population are ſubordinate to thoſe natural laws which govern the univerſe, as well as to the influences of ſoil and atmoſphere, which are ſubject to a number of calamities, it muſt ever have varied with thoſe periods of nature that have been either adverſe or favourable to the increaſe of mankind. However, as the lot of every ſpecies ſeems in a manner to depend on its faculties, the hiſtory of the progreſs and improvement of human induſtry muſt therefore in general ſupply us with the hiſtory of the population of the earth. On this ground of calculation, it is, at leaſt doubtful, whether the world was formerly better inhabited and more peopled than it is at preſent.

LET us leave Aſia under the veil of that antiquity which reports it to us ever covered with innumerable

numerable nations, and ſwarms of people ſo pro- BOOK
digious that (notwithſtanding the fertility of a XIX.
ſoil which ſtands in need but of one ray of the ſun to enable it to produce all ſorts of fruits) men did but juſt ariſe, and ſucceed one another with the utmoſt rapidity, and were deſtroyed either by famine, peſtilence or war. Let us conſider with more attention the population of Europe, which ſeems to have taken the place of Aſia, by confering upon art all the powers of nature.

In order to determine whether our continent was, in former ages more inhabited than at preſent, it is ſufficient to examine, whether it was then more cultivated. Do any traces remain among us of plantations that have been abandoned? What coaſt is there where men could land, what country that was acceſſible that is at preſent without inhabitants? If diſcoveries are made of the ruins of old towns, it is beneath the foundations of cities as large as the former. But though the population even of Italy and Spain ſhould be leſs than it was formerly, how much are not the other ſtates of Europe increaſed in the number of their inhabitants? What were thoſe multitudes of people which Cæſar reckoned up in Gaul, but a ſort of ſavage nations more formidable in name than in number? Were all thoſe Britains, who were ſubdued in their iſland by two Roman legions, much more numerous than the Corſicans at preſent? Germany, indeed, as it ſhould ſeem, muſt have been extremely well peopled,

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pled, as ſhe alone brought into ſubjection, in the compaſs of two or three centuries, one half of the fineſt countries in Europe. But let us conſider, that theſe were the people of a territory ten times as large who poſſeſſed themſelves of a country inhabited at preſent by three or four nations only; and that it was not owing to the number of her conquerors, but to the revolt of her ſubjects, that the Roman empire was deſtroyed and reduced to ſubjection. In this aſtoniſhing revolution, we may readily admit that the victorious nations did not amount to one twentieth part of thoſe that were conquered; becauſe the former made their attacks with half their numbers of effective men, and the latter employed no more than the hundredth part of their effective inhabitants in their defence. But a people, who engage entirely for their own defence and ſupport are more powerful than ten armies raiſed by kings and princes.

Besides, thoſe long and bloody wars, of which ancient hiſtory is full, are deſtructive of that exceſſive population they ſeem to prove. If on the one hand the Romans endeavoured to ſupply the loſſes their armies ſuſtained in conſequence of the victories they obtained, that deſire of conqueſt to which they were devoted, deſtroyed at leaſt, other nations; for as ſoon as the Romans had ſubdued any people, they incorporated them into their own armies, and exhauſted their ſtrength, as much by recruits as by the tribute they impoſed upon them. It is well known with what rage wars were carried

on

on by the ancients: that often in a ſiege, the whole town was laid in aſhes; men, women and children periſhed in the flames rather than fall under the dominion of the conqueror; that in aſſaults, every inhabitant was put to the ſword; that in regular engagements, it was thought more deſireable to die, ſword in hand, than to be led in triumph, and be condemned to perpetual ſlavery. Were not theſe barbarous cuſtoms of war injurious to population? If, as we muſt allow, ſome unhappy men were preſerved to be the victims of ſlavery, this was but of little ſervice to the increaſe of mankind, as it eſtabliſhed in a ſtate an extreme inequality of conditions among beings by nature equal. If the diviſion of ſocieties into ſmall colonies or ſtates were adapted to multiply families by the partition of lands; it likewiſe more frequently occaſioned conteſts among the nations; and as theſe ſmall ſtates touched one another, as it were, in an infinite number of points, in order to defend them, every inhabitant was obliged to take up arms. Large bodies are not eaſily put into motion on account of their bulk; ſmall ones are in a perpetual motion, which entirely deſtroys them.

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If war were deſtructive of population in ancient times, peace was not always able to promote and reſtore it. Formerly all nations were ruled by deſpotic or ariſtocratic power, and theſe two forms of government are by no means favourable to the increaſe of the human ſpecies. The free cities of

Greece

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Greece were ſubject to laws ſo complicated, that there were continual diſſentions among the citizens. Even the inferior claſs of people, who had no right of voting, obtained a ſuperiority in the public aſſemblies, where a man of talents by the power of eloquence was enabled to inflame the minds of ſo many perſons. Beſides, in theſe ſtates population tended to be confined to the city, in conjunction with ambition, power, riches, and in ſhort, all the effects and ſprings of liberty. Not but that the lands under the democratical ſtates muſt have been well cultivated and well peopled. But the democracies were few; and as they were all ambitious, and could only aggrandize themſelves by war, if we except Athens, whoſe commerce, indeed, was alſo owing to the ſuperiority of its arms, the earth could not long flouriſh, and increaſe in population. In a word, Greece and Italy were at leaſt the only countries better peopled than they are at preſent.

WHERE indeed do we find ſuch a degree of population as bears any compariſon with what a traveller meets with at this day on every ſea coaſt, along all the great rivers, and on the roads to capital cities; except in Greece, which repelled, reſtrained, and ſubdued Aſia; in Carthage which appeared on the borders of Africa, and ſoon declined to its former ſtate; and in Rome, which brought into ſubjection and deſtroyed the known world. What vaſt foreſts are turned to tillage; what harveſts are waving in the place of reeds that covered

covered marſhy grounds? What numbers of civi- BOOK
lized people, who ſubſiſt on dried fiſh, and ſalted XIX.
proviſions?

In the police, in the morals, and in the politics of the moderns we may diſcern many cauſes of propagation that did not exiſt among the ancients: but at the ſame time we obſerve likewiſe ſome impediments which may prevent or diminiſh among us that ſort of progreſs, which, in our ſpecies, ſhould be moſt conducive to its being raiſed to the greateſt degree of perfection. For population will never be very conſiderable, unleſs men are more happy.

Population depends in a great meaſure on the diſtribution of landed property. Families are multiplied in the ſame manner as their poſſeſſions, and when they are too large, they are injurious to population from their too great extent. A man of conſiderable property, working only for himſelf, ſets apart one half of his lands for his income, and the other for his pleaſures. All he appropriates to hunting is a double loſs in point of cultivation, for he breeds animals on the land that ſhould be appropriated to men, inſtead of ſubſiſting men on the land which is appropriated to animals. Wood is neceſſary in a country for repairs and fewel: but is there any occaſion for ſo many avenues in a park; or for parterres, and kitchen gardens of ſuch extent as belong to a large eſtate? In this caſe, does luxury, which in its magnificence contributes to the ſupport of the arts,

prove

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prove as favourable to the increaſe of mankind, as it might by employing the land to better purpoſes? Too many large eſtates, therefore, and too few ſmall ones; this is the firſt impediment to population.

THE next obſtacle, is the unalienable domains of the clergy: when ſo much property remains for ever in the ſame hands, how ſhall population flouriſh, when it entirely depends upon the improvement of lands by the increaſe of ſhares among different proprietors. What intereſt has the incumbent to increaſe the value of an eſtate he is not to tranſmit to any ſucceſſor, to ſow or plant for a poſterity not derived from himſelf. Far from diminiſhing his income to improve his lands, will he not rather impair the eſtate, in order to increaſe the rents which he is to enjoy only for life?

THE entails of eſtates in great families are not leſs prejudicial to the propagation of mankind. They leſſen at once both the nobility and the other ranks of people. Juſt as the right of primogeniture among the great ſacrifices the younger children to the intereſt of the elder branch; entails deſtroy ſeveral families for the ſake of a ſingle one. Almoſt all entailed eſtates are ill cultivated on account of the negligence of a proprietor who is not attached to a poſſeſſion he is not to diſpoſe of, which has been ceded to him only with regret, and which is already given to his ſucceſſors, whom he cannot conſider as his heirs, becauſe they are

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not named by him. The right of primogeniture, and entail, is then a law, one may ſay, made on purpoſe to defeat the increaſe of population in any ſtate.

From the two firſt obſtacles to population produced by the defect of legiſlation, there ariſes a third, which is the poverty of the people. Wherever the farmers have not the property of the ground-rent, their life is miſerable, and their condition precarious. Not being certain of their ſubſiſtence, which depends on their health, having but ſmall reliance on their ſtrength, which is not at their own diſpoſal, and weary of their exiſtence, they are afraid of breeding a race of wretched beings. It is an error to imagine that plenty of children are produced in the country, when there die as many, if not more, than are born every year. The toil of the father, and the milk of the mother are loſt to them, and their children; for they will never attain to the flower of their age, or to that period of maturity, which by its ſervices will recompence all the pains that have been beſtowed upon their education. With a ſmall portion of land, the mother might bring up her child, and cultivate her own little garden, while the father by his labour abroad, might add to the conveniencies of his family. As he has no property and his gains are very ſmall, they are inſufficient for the ſupport of his family, who languiſh in diſtreſs, or the child periſhes from the toils of the mother.

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What a variety of evils ariſe from a faulty or defective legiſlation? Vices and calamities are infinite in their effects, they mutually aſſiſt each other in ſpreading general deſtruction, and ariſe from one another, till they are both exhauſted. The indigence of the country produces an increaſe of troops, a burthen ruinous in its nature, deſtructive of men in time of war, and of land in time of peace. It is certain that the military are injurious to agriculture by their not aſſiſting in the culture of the lands; becauſe every ſoldier deprives the public of a labourer, and burthens it with an idle or uſeleſs conſumer. He defends the country in time of peace, merely from a pernicious ſyſtem, which under the pretext of defence makes all nations aggreſſors. If all governments would, as they eaſily might, let thoſe men, whom they devote to the army, be employed in the labours of huſbandry, the number of labourers and artiſts throughout Europe, would in a ſhort time be conſiderably increaſed. All the powers of human induſtry would be exerted in improving the advantages of nature, and in ſurmounting every obſtacle to improvement; every thing would concur in promoting life, not in ſpreading deſtruction.

The deſerts of Ruſſia would be cleared, and the plains of Poland not laid waſte. The vaſt dominions of the Turks, would be cultivated, and the bleſſing of their prophet would be extended over numberleſs people. Egypt, Syria, and Paleſtine would again become what they were in the

times

times of the Phenicians, in the days of their ſhepherd kings, and of the Jews who enjoyed happineſs and peace under their judges. The parched mountains of Sierra Morena would be rendered fertile, the heaths of Aquitania would be cleared of inſects and be covered with people. BOOK XIX.

But general good is merely the deluſive dream of benevolent men. This brings to my remembrance the virtuous prelate of Cambray, and the good Abbé of St. Pierre. Their works are compoſed with a deſign to make deſerts inhabited, not indeed with hermits, who fly from the vices and misfortunes of the world, but with happy families, who would proclaim the glory of God, upon earth, as the ſtars declare it in the firmament. Their writings abound with ſocial views and ſentiments of humanity, and may be conſidered as truly inſpired; for humanity is the gift of heaven. Kings will inſure the attachment of their people in proportion as they themſelves are attached to ſuch men.

It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve that one of the means to favour population is to ſuppreſs the celibacy of the regular and ſecular clergy. Monaſtic inſtitutions have a reference to two æras remarkable in the hiſtory of the world. About the year 700 of Rome, Jeſus Chriſt was the founder of a new religion in the eaſt; and the ſubverſion of Paganiſm was ſoon attended with that of the Roman empire itſelf. Two or three hundred years after the death of Chriſt, Egypt and Paleſtine

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were filled with Monks. About the year 700 of the chriſtian æra, Mohammed appeared, and eſtabliſhed a new religion in the eaſt; and chriſtianity was transferred to Europe, where it fixed. Three or four hundred years afterwards, there aroſe multitudes of religious orders. At the time of the birth of Chriſt, the books of David and thoſe of the Sybil foretold the deſtruction of the world, a deluge, or rather an univerſal conflagration, and general judgment: and all people oppreſſed by the dominion of the Romans, wiſhed for and believed in a general diſſolution. A thouſand years after the chriſtian æra, the books of David and thoſe of the Sybil ſtill announced the laſt judgment: and ſeveral penitents, as ferocious and wild in their extravagant piety as in their vices, ſold all their poſſeſſions to go to conquer and die upon the tomb of their redeemer. The nations groaning under the tyranny of the feudal government wiſhed for and ſtill believed in the end of the world.

WHILE one part of the chriſtian world, ſtruck with terror, went to periſh in the Cruſades, another part were burying themſelves in cloyſters. This was the origin of the monaſtic life in Europe. Opinion gave riſe to monks, and it will be the cauſe of their deſtruction. The eſtates they poſſeſſed, they will leave behind them for the uſe and increaſe of ſociety: and all thoſe hours, that are loſt in praying without devotion, will be dedicated to their primitive intention, which is labour. The

clergy

clergy are to remember that in the ſacred ſcriptures, God ſays to man in a ſtate of innocence, increaſe and multiply: to man in a fallen ſtate, till the earth, and work for thy ſubſiſtence. If the duties of the prieſthood ſeem yet to allow the prieſt to incumber himſelf with the care of a family and an eſtate, the duties of ſociety more ſtrongly forbid celibacy. If the monks in earlier times cleared the deſerts they inhabited; they now contribute to depopulate the towns where their number is very great: if the clergy has ſubſiſted on the alms of the people, they in their turn reduce the people to beggary. Among the idle claſſes of ſociety, the moſt prejudicial is that, which, from its very principles, muſt tend to promote a general ſpirit of indolence among men; make them waſte at the altar as well the work of the bees, as the ſalary of the workmen; which burns in day-time the candles that ought to be reſerved for the night, and makes men loſe in the church that time they owe to the care of their families; which engages men to aſk of heaven the ſubſiſtence that the ground only can give, or produce in return for their toil.

THERE is ſtill another cauſe of the depopulation of ſome ſtates; which is, that want of toleration which perſecutes and proſcribes every religion but that of the prince on the throne. This is a ſpecies of oppreſſion and tyranny peculiar to modern politics to extend its influence even over mens thoughts and conſciences: a barbarous piety,

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which, for the ſake of exterior forms of worſhip, extinguiſhes in ſome degree the very idea of the exiſtence of God, by deſtroying multitudes of his worſhippers: it is an impiety ſtill more barbarous, that on account of things ſo indifferent as religious ceremonies muſt appear, deſtroys the life of man, and impedes the populations of ſtates, which ſhould be conſidered as points of the utmoſt importance. For neither the number nor the allegiance of ſubjects is increaſed by exacting oaths contrary to conſcience, by forcing into ſecret perjury thoſe who are engaged in the marriage ties, or in the different profeſſions of a citizen. Unity in religion is proper only when it is naturally eſtabliſhed by conviction. When once that is at an end, a general liberty if granted, would be the means of reſtoring tranquility and peace of mind. When no diſtinction is made, but this liberty is fully and equally extended to every citizen, it can never diſturb the peace of families.

NEXT to the celibacy of the clergy and of the military, the former of which ariſes from profeſſion, the latter from cuſtom, there is a third, derived from convenience, and introduced by luxury. I mean that of life annuitants. Here we may admire the chain of cauſes. At the ſame time that commerce favours population by the means of induſtry both by land and ſea, by all the objects and operations of navigation, and by the ſeveral arts of cultivation and manufactures, it alſo decreaſes it by reaſon of all thoſe vices which luxury introduces.

introduces. When riches have gained a ſuperiority over the minds of men, then opinions and manners alter by the intermixture of ranks. The arts and the talents of pleaſing corrupt ſociety, while they poliſh it. When the intercourſe between the ſexes becomes frequent, they mutually ſeduce each other, and the weaker are induced by the ſtronger to adopt the frivolous turn for dreſs and amuſement. The women become childiſh and the men effeminate. Entertainments are the ſole topic of their converſation, and the object of their occupation. The manly and robuſt exerciſes, by which the youth were trained up to diſcipline, and prepared for the moſt important and dangerous profeſſions, give place to the love of public ſhews, where every paſſion that can render a nation effeminate is caught, as long as there is no appearance of a patriotic ſpirit among them. Indolence becomes prevalent among that claſs of men who are not obliged to labour, and among thoſe that ſhould, leſs buſineſs is done. The variety of arts multiplies faſhions, and theſe increaſe our expences; articles of luxury become neceſſary; what is ſuperfluous is looked upon as needful; and people in general are better dreſſed, but do not live ſo well; and purchaſe clothes at the expence of the neceſſaries of life. The lower claſs of men become debauched before they are ſenſible of the paſſion of love, and marrying later, have fewer or weaker children: the tradeſman ſeeks a fortune not a wife, and his libertiniſm deprives him of both. The

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rich, whether married or not, are continually seducing women of every rank, or debauching girls of low condition. The difficulty of supporting the charges of marriage, and the readineſs of finding the joys of it without bearing any of its diſagreeable inconveniences, tends to increaſe the number of unmarried people in every claſs of life. The man, who renounces the hope of being the father of a family, conſumes his patrimony, and in concert with the ſtate, which increaſes his income, by borrowing money from him at a ruinous intereſt, he laviſhes upon one generation the ſupport of many; he extinguiſhes his own poſterity as well as that of the women by whom he is rewarded, and that of the girls who are paid by him. Every kind of proſtitution prevails at the ſame time. Honour and duty is forfeited in every rank; the ruin of the women is but the forerunner of that of the men.

THE nation that is inclined to gallantry, or rather to libertiniſm, ſoon loſes its power and credit in other countries, and is ruined at home. There is no longer any nobility, no longer any body of men to defend their own or the people's rights; for every where diviſion and ſelf-intereſt prevails. No one wiſhes to be ruined alone. The love of riches becomes the general object of attraction, the honeſt man is apprehenſive of loſing his fortune, and the man of no honour is intent upon making his: the one retires from the world, the other ſets himſelf up to ſale, and thus the ſtate is loſt. Such

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is the conſtant progreſs of commerce in a monarchical government. What its effects are in a republic we know from antient hiſtory. But ſtill it is neceſſary at this period to excite men to commerce; becauſe the preſent ſituation of Europe is favourable to it, and commerce itſelf promotes population.

But it will be aſked whether a great degree of population is of uſe to promote the happineſs of mankind. This is an idle queſtion. In fact, the point is not to multiply men, in order to make them happy; but it is ſufficient to make them happy, that they ſhould multiply. All the means which concur in the proſperity of any ſtate, tend of themſelves to the propagation of its people. A legiſlator deſirous of an increaſe of people merely to have a greater number of ſoldiers, and of ſubjects, only for the purpoſe of ſubduing his neighbours, would be a monſter, and an enemy to the human race, ſince his plans of political increaſe would be ſolely directed to the deſtruction of others. A legiſlator, on the contrary, who like Solon, ſhould form a republic, whoſe multitudes might people the deſert coaſts of the ſea; or who like Penn, ſhould make laws for the cultivation of his colony, and forbid war, ſuch a legiſlator would undoubtedly be conſidered as a God on earth. Even though his name ſhould not be immortalized, he would live in happineſs, and die contented, eſpecially if he could be certain of

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leaving behind him laws of such wisdom as to free his people for ever from the vexation of taxes.

Taxes.

A TAX may be defined, a sacrifice of a part of a man's property for the preservation of the other: from hence it follows, that there should not be any tax either among people in a state of slavery, or among savages: for the former no longer enjoy any property, and the latter have not yet acquired any.

BUT when a nation possesses any large and valuable property, when its fortune is sufficiently established, and is considerable enough to make the expences of government necessary, when it has possessions, trade, and wealth capable of tempting the avidity of its neighbours who may be poor or ambitious; then, in order to guard its frontiers, or its provinces, to protect its navigation, and keep up its police, there is a necessity for forces and for a revenue. It is but just and requisite, that the persons who are employed in any manner for the public good, should be maintained by all the other orders of the society.

THERE have been countries and times, in which a portion of the territory was assigned for the public expences of the state. The government not being enabled of itself to turn such extensive possessions to advantage, was forced to entrust this charge to administrators, who either neglected the revenues, or appropriated them to their own use. This practice brought on still greater inconveniences. Either the royal domains were too considerable

ſiderable in time of peace, or inſufficient for the calls of war. In the firſt inſtance, the liberty of the ſtate was oppreſſed by the ruler of it, and in the latter, by ſtrangers. It has, therefore, been found neceſſary to have recourſe to the contributions of the citizens.

THESE funds were in early times not conſiderable. The ſtipends then allowed were merely an indemnification to thoſe whom public affairs prevented from attending to thoſe employments that were neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. Their reward aroſe from that pleaſing ſenſation which we experience from an internal conſciouſneſs of our own virtue, and from the view of the homage paid to it by other men. This moral wealth was the greateſt treaſure of riſing ſocieties; a kind of coin which it was equally the intereſt of government and of morality not to diminiſh the value of.

HONOUR held the place of taxes no leſs in the flouriſhing periods of Greece, than in the infant ſtate of ſocieties. The patriot who ſerved his country, did not think he had any right to deſtroy it. The impoſt, laid by Ariſtides on all Greece, for the ſupport of the war againſt Perſia, was ſo moderate, that thoſe who were to contribute, of themſelves, called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were theſe, and what a country, in which taxes made the happineſs of the people!

THE Romans acquired power and empire almoſt without any aſſiſtance from the public treaſury. The love of wealth would have diverted them from

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from the conqueſt of the world. The public ſervice was attended to without any views of intereſt, even after their manners had been corrupted.

UNDER the feudal government, there were no taxes, for on what could they have been levied? The man and the land were both the property of the Lord. It was both a real and a perſonal ſervitude.

WHEN knowledge began to flouriſh in Europe, the nations turned their thoughts towards their own ſecurity. They voluntarily furniſhed contributions to repreſs foreign and domeſtic enemies. But thoſe tributes were moderate, becauſe princes were not yet abſolute enough to divert them to the purpoſes of their own capricious humours, or to the advantage of their ambition.

THE new world was diſcovered, and the paſſion for conqueſt engaged every nation. That ſpirit of aggrandizement was inconſiſtent with the ſlowneſs with which affairs are managed in popular aſſemblies; and ſovereigns ſucceeded without much difficulty in appropriating to themſelves greater rights than they had ever before enjoyed. The impoſition of taxes was the moſt important of their uſurpations, and it is that whoſe conſequences have been the moſt pernicious.

PRINCES have even ventured to render the marks of ſervitude apparent upon all their ſubjects, by levying a poll-tax. Independent of the humili-

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ation it is attended with, can any thing be more arbitrary than ſuch a tax. BOOK XIX.

Is the tax to be levied upon voluntary information? But this would require between the monarch and his ſubjects an attachment to each other ariſing from a principle of duty, which ſhould unite them by a mutual love of the general good; or, at leaſt, a regard to the public welfare to inſpire the one with confidence in the other, by a ſincere and reciprocal communication of their intelligence, and of their ſentiments. Even then, upon what is this conſcientious principle to be founded, which is to ſerve as an inſtructor, a guide and a check in the affairs of government?

Is the ſanctuary of families, or the cloſet of the citizen to be invaded, in order to gain by ſurpriſe, and bring to light what he does not chuſe to reveal, what it is often of importance to him not to diſcover. What an inquiſition is this! What an injurious violence! Though we ſhould even become acquainted with the revenues and means of ſubſiſtence of every individual, do they not vary from one year to another with the uncertain and precarious productions of induſtry? Are they not leſſened by the increaſe of children, by the decay of ſtrength through ſickneſs, age, and laborious occupations. The very faculties of the human ſpecies, which are uſeful and employed in laborious occupations, do they not change with thoſe viciſſitudes occaſioned by time in every thing that depends on nature and fortune? The perſonal

tax

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tax is a vexation then to the individual without being a general benefit. A poll-tax is a ſort of ſlavery, oppreſſive to the man, without being profitable to the ſtate.

After princes had impoſed this tax, which is a mark of deſpotiſm, or which leads to it ſooner or later, impoſts were then laid upon articles of conſumption. Sovereigns have affected to conſider this new tribute as in ſome meaſure voluntary, becauſe it riſes in proportion to the expences of the ſubject, which he is at liberty to increaſe or diminiſh according to his abilities, or his propenſities, which are for the moſt part factitious.

But if taxation affect the commodities which are of immediate neceſſity, it muſt be conſidered as an act of the greateſt cruelty. Previous to all the laws of ſociety, man had a right to ſubſiſt. And is he to loſe that right by the eſtabliſhment of laws? To ſell the produce of the earth to the people at a high price, is in reality to deprive them of it: to wreſt from them by a tax the natural means of preſerving life, is in fact to affect the very principle of their exiſtence. By extorting the ſubſiſtence of the needy, the ſtate takes from him his ſtrength with his food. It reduces the poor man to a ſtate of beggary; and the labouring man to that of idleneſs; it makes the unfortunate man become a rogue; that is, it is the cauſe of bringing the man who is ready to ſtarve to an untimely end, from the extreme diſtreſs to which he is reduced.

If the impoſts affect commodities leſs neceſſary, how many hands loſt to tillage and the arts are employed not in guarding the bulwarks of the empire, but in crowding the kingdom with an infinite number of uſeleſs barriers; in embarraſſing the gates of towns; infeſting the highways and roads of commerce; and ſearching into cellars, granaries, and ſtorehouſes! What a ſtate of war between prince and people, between ſubject and ſubject! How many priſons, gallies and gibbets prepared for a number of unhappy perſons who have been urged on to fraudulent practices, to ſmuggling, and even to piracy by the iniquity of the revenue laws!

The avidity of ſovereigns has extended itſelf from the articles of conſumption to thoſe of traffic carried on from one ſtate to another. Inſatiable tyrants! Will ye never be ſenſible that if ye lay duties on what ye offer to the ſtranger, he will buy at a cheaper rate, he will give only the price demanded by other ſtates: if even your own ſubjects were the ſole proprietors of that produce you have taxed, they ſtill would never be able to make other nations ſubmit to ſuch exactions; for in that caſe the demand would be for a leſs quantity, and the overplus would oblige them to lower the price, in order to find a ſale for it.

The duty on merchandiſe which one ſtate receives from another, is not leſs unreaſonable. The price of the goods being regulated by the competition of other countries, the duties will be paid by

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by the ſubjects of that ſtate which buys commodities for its neighbours. Poſſibly, the increaſe in the price of foreign produce may diminiſh the conſumption of it. But if a leſs quantity of merchandiſe is ſold to any country, a leſs quantity will be purchaſed of it. The profits of trade are to be eſtimated in proportion to the quantity of merchandiſe ſold and bought. Commerce is in fact nothing more than an exchange of the value of one commodity for that of another. It is not poſſible then to oppoſe the courſe of theſe exchanges, without lowering the value of the productions that are ſold, by reſtraining the ſale of them.

WHETHER therefore duties are laid on our own or on foreign merchandiſe, the induſtry of the ſubject will neceſſarily ſuffer by it. The means of payment will be fewer, and there will be leſs raw materials to work up. The greater diminution there is in the annual produce, the greater alſo will be the decreaſe of labour. Then all the laws that can be made againſt beggars will be ineffectual, for man muſt live on what is given him, if he cannot live by what he earns.

BUT what then is the mode of taxation the moſt proper to conciliate the public intereſt with the rights of individuals? It is the land-tax. An impoſt is with reſpect to the perſon upon whom it is charged, an annual expence. It can only, therefore, be aſſeſſed on an annual revenue; for nothing but an annual revenue can diſcharge an annual expence. Now there never can be any annual

nual revenue, except that of the land. It is land only which returns yearly what has been beſtowed upon it, with an additional profit that may be diſpoſed of. It is but within theſe few years that we have begun to be ſenſible of this important truth. Some men of abilities will one day be able to demonſtrate the evidence of it: and that government which firſt make this the foundation of its ſyſtem, will neceſſarily be raiſed to a degree of proſperity unknown to all nations and all ages.

PERHAPS, there is no ſtate in Europe at preſent whoſe ſituation admits of ſo great a change. The taxes are every where ſo heavy, the expences ſo multiplied, the wants ſo urgent, the treaſury of the ſtate in general ſo much indebted, that a ſudden change in the mode of raiſing the public revenues, would infallibly alter the confidence and diſturb the peace of the ſubject. But an enlightened and provident policy, will tend by ſlow and gradual ſteps towards ſo ſalutary an end. With courage and prudence it will remove every obſtacle that prejudice, ignorance, and private intereſt might have to oppoſe to a ſyſtem of adminiſtration, the advantages of which appear to us beyond all calculation.

IN order that nothing may leſſen the benefits of this happy innovation, it will be neceſſary that all lands without diſtinction ſhould be ſubjected to taxation. The public weal is a treaſure in common, wherein every individual ſhould depoſit his tribute, his ſervice, and his abilities. Names and titles

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titles will never change the nature of men and their poſſeſſions. It would be the utmoſt meanneſs and folly to avail ourſelves of diſtinctions received from our anceſtors, in order to withdraw ourſelves from the burthens of ſociety. Every mark of diſtinction that is not of general utility ſhould be conſidered as injurious, it can only be equitable, when it is founded on a fixt reſolution of devoting our lives and fortunes in a more particular manner to the ſervice of our country.

If in this age the tax were firſt laid on the land, would it not neceſſarily be ſuppoſed that the contribution ſhould be proportioned to the extent and value of the eſtates? Would any one dare to alledge his employments, his ſervices, his dignities, in order to ſcreen himſelf from the tributes exacted by the public weal? What connection have taxes with ranks, titles, and conditions? They relate only to the revenue: and this belongs to the ſtate, as ſoon as it becomes neceſſary for the public defence.

It is not, however, ſufficient that the impoſt be equally divided; it is further neceſſary that it be proportioned to the wants of government, which are not always the ſame. War hath ever required in all countries and in every age more conſiderable expences than peace. The antients made a proviſion for them by their oeconomy in times of tranquility. Since the advantages of circulation and the principles of induſtry have been better underſtood, the method of laying up ſpecie

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for this purpoſe has been proſcribed; and that of impoſing extraordinary taxes has been with reaſon preferred. Every ſtate that ſhould prohibit them would find itſelf obliged, in order to protract its fall, to have recourſe to the methods made uſe of at Conſtantinople. The Sultan, who can do every thing but augment his revenues, is conſtrained to give up the empire to the extortions of his delegates, that he may afterwards deprive them of what they have plundered from his ſubjects.

That taxes may not be exorbitant, they ſhould be ordered, regulated and adminiſtered by the repreſentatives of the people. The impoſt has ever depended on, and muſt be proportioned to the property poſſeſſed. He that is not maſter of the produce is not maſter of the field. Tributes therefore among all nations have always been firſt impoſed by the proprietors only; whether the lands were divided among the conquerors; or the clergy ſhared them with the nobles, or whether they paſſed by means of commerce and induſtry into the hands of the generality of the citizens. Every where, thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the lands had reſerved to themſelves the natural, unalienable and ſacred right, of not being taxed without their own conſent. If we do not admit this principle, there is no longer any monarchy, or any nation; there is nothing remaining but a deſpotic maſter and a herd of ſlaves.

Ye people, whoſe kings command every thing they pleaſe, read over again the hiſtory of your own country. Ye will ſee that your anceſtors aſ-

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ſembled themſelves and deliberated whenever a ſubſidy was in agitation. If this cuſtom is neglected, the right is not loſt; it is recorded in heaven, which has given the earth to mankind to poſſeſs: it is written on the field you have taken the pains to incloſe, in order to ſecure to yourſelves the enjoyment of it: it is written in your hearts, where the divinity has impreſſed the love of liberty. Man whoſe head is raiſed towards heaven was not made in the image of his creator to bow before man. No man is greater than another, but by the choice and conſent of all. Ye courtiers, your greatneſs ariſes from your lands, and not from the power and ſtate of your maſter. Be leſs ambitious, and ye will be richer. Do juſtice to your vaſſals, and ye will improve your fortunes by increaſing the general happineſs. What advantage can ye propoſe to yourſelves in eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of deſpotic government upon the ruins of liberty, virtue, benevolence and property? Conſider that ye will all fall victims to this power. Around that formidable Coloſſus ye are no more than figures in bronze, repreſenting the nations chained at the feet of a ſtatue.

If the right of impoſing taxes be in the prince alone, though it may not be for his intereſt to burden and oppreſs his people, yet they will be burdened and oppreſſed. The caprices, profuſions and encroachments of the ſovereign will no longer know any bounds when they meet with no obſtacles. A falſe and cruel ſyſtem of politics will ſoon perſuade him that rich ſubjects will always be-

become inſolent, that they muſt be diſtreſſed, in order to be reduced to ſubjection, and that poverty is the firmeſt rampart of the throne. He will proceed ſo far as to believe that every thing is at his diſpoſal, that nothing belongs to his ſlaves, and that he does them a favour in every thing he leaves them.

THE government will appropriate to itſelf all the means and reſources of induſtry; and will lay ſuch reſtraints on the exports and imports of every article of trade, as will entirely abſorb the profits ariſing from it. Commerce will be carried on by the means and for the benefit of the treaſury. Cultivation will be neglected by mercenaries who can have no hopes of acquiring property. The nobility will ſerve in the army only for pay. The magiſtrate will give judgment only for the ſake of his fees and his ſalary. Merchants will hoard up their fortunes in order to tranſport them out of a land where there is no ſpirit of patriotiſm, nor any ſecurity left. The nation, then loſing all its importance, will conceive an indifference for its kings; will ſee its enemies only in thoſe who are its maſters; will be induced to hope that a change of maſter will tend to alleviate its ſervitude; will expect its deliverance from a revolution, and the reſtoration of its tranquillity from an entire overthrow of the ſtate. Nothing need be added to this repreſentation: let us now ſpeak of a reſource, which ſovereigns turn to the ruin of their people: that is public credit.

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Public credit.

In general, what is called public credit, is only a delay allowed for payment. Credit then ſuppoſes a double confidence; confidence in the perſon who is in want of it, and confidence in his abilities to pay. The firſt is the moſt neceſſary. It is too common for a man in debt, who is deſtitute of honeſty to break his engagements, though he is able to fulfil them; and to diſſipate his fortune by irregularity and extravagance. But the ſenſible and honeſt man, may by a variety of ſchemes well conducted, acquire or replace the means that have failed him for a time.

The chief end of commerce is conſumption; but before the commodities have reached the places where they were to be conſumed, a conſiderable time often paſſes, and great expences muſt be incurred. If the merchant is compelled to make his purchaſes with ready money, commerce will neceſſarily decline. The ſeller as well as the buyer will be equally ſufferers by it. Theſe conſiderations have given riſe to private credit among the individuals of one ſociety, or even of ſeveral ſocieties. It differs from public credit in this particular, that the latter is the credit of a whole nation conſidered as forming one ſingle body.

Between public and private credit there is alſo this difference, that profit is the end of the one, and expence of the other. From hence it follows that credit is gain with reſpect to the merchant; becauſe it furniſhes him with the means of acquiring riches; but with reſpect to governments it

is one cauſe of impoveriſhing them, ſince it only ſupplies them with the means of ruining themſelves. A ſtate that borrows, alienates a portion of its revenue for a capital which it ſpends. It is then poorer after having thus borrowed, than it was before it had recourſe to that deſtructive expedient. Notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver, the governments in former ages were unacquainted with public credit, even in the periods of the moſt fatal and critical events. They formed during peace a ſtock that was reſerved for times of diſtreſs. The ſpecie being by this method circulated afreſh, excited induſtry and alleviated, in ſome meaſure, the inevitable calamities of war. Since the diſcovery of the new world has made gold and ſilver more common, thoſe who have had the adminiſtration of public affairs have generally engaged in enterpriſes above the abilities of the people they governed; and have not ſcrupled to burthen poſterity with debts they had ventured to contract. That ſyſtem of oppreſſion has been continued; it will affect the lateſt generations, and oppreſs all nations and all ages.

The uſe of public credit, though ruinous to every ſtate, is not equally ſo to all. A nation that has ſeveral valuable productions of its own; whoſe revenue is entirely free; which has always fulfilled its engagements; nor has been ambitious of making conqueſts; and which is not dependent upon a foreign power for its government: ſuch a nation

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will raiſe money at an eaſier rate, than a ſtate whoſe ſoil is not fertile; whoſe debts are conſiderable, and which engages in undertakings beyond its ſtrength; which has deceived its creditors, and groans beneath an arbitrary power. The lender, who of courſe impoſes the law, will always proportion the terms to the riſques he muſt run. Thus, a people, whoſe finances are in a ſtate of confuſion, will ſoon fall into the utmoſt diſtreſs by public credit: but even the beſt regulated government, will alſo experience a decline in its proſperity from it.

But, ſome political arithmeticians have aſſerted that it is advantageous to invite the ſpecie of other nations into that of your own country: and that public funds produce that important effect. It is certain that it is a method of attracting the ſpecie of other nations, but merely, as if it were obtained by the ſale of one or more provinces of the empire. Perhaps, it would be a more rational practice to deliver up the ſoil to them, than to cultivate it ſolely for their uſe.

But if the ſtate borrowed only of its own ſubjects, the national revenue would not be given up to foreigners. It certainly would not: but the ſtate would impoveriſh ſome of its members, in order to enrich one individual. Muſt not taxes be increaſed in proportion to the intereſt that is to be paid, and the capital that is to be replaced? Will not the proprietors of lands, the huſbandmen and every citizen find the burden greater, than if all

the money borrowed by the ſtate had been demanded from them at once? Their ſituation is the ſame, as if they themſelves had borrowed it, inſtead of retrenching from their ordinary expences as much as might enable them to ſupply an accidental charge.

But the paper-currency which is introduced by the loans made to government, increaſes the quantity of wealth in circulation, gives a great extenſion to trade, and facilitates every commercial operation. Infatuated men! Reflect on the dangerous conſequences of your political ſyſtem. Extend it only as far as poſſible; let the ſtate borrow all it can; load it with intereſt; and by theſe means reduce it to the neceſſity of ſtraining every tax to the utmoſt; ye will ſoon find that with all the wealth you may have in circulation, ye will have no freſh ſupply for the purpoſes of conſumption and trade. Money, and the paper which repreſents it, do not circulate of themſelves, nor without the aſſiſtance of other means. All the different ſigns introduced in lieu of coin, acquire a value only proportionate to the number of ſales and purchaſes that are made. Let all Europe, if you pleaſe be filled with gold; if there is no merchandiſe for traffic, that gold will have no currency. Increaſe only the articles of commerce, and be not concerned with regard to theſe repreſentations of wealth; mutual confidence and neceſſity will ſoon occaſion them to be eſtabliſhed without your aſſiſtance. But let your care be

BOOK XIX. principally directed in preventing their increaſe by ſuch means as muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the maſs of your growing produce.

But the uſe of public credit enables one power to give the law to others. Will mankind never perceive that this reſource is in common to all nations? If it be a general mode by which a ſtate may obtain a ſuperiority over its enemies, may it not be ſerviceable to them for the ſame purpoſes? Will not the credit of the two nations be in proportion to their reſpective wealth? and will they not be ruined without having any other advantages over one another than thoſe they were in poſſeſſion of, independent of every loan? When I ſee monarchs and empires furiouſly attacking and waging war againſt each other with all their debts, with their public funds, and their revenues already deeply mortgaged, it ſeems to me, ſays a philoſophical writer, as if I ſaw men fighting with clubs in a potter's ſhop ſurrounded with porcelain.

It would, perhaps, be preſumptuous to affirm, that in no circumſtance whatſoever the public ſervice can ever require an alienation of part of the public revenues. The ſcenes that diſturb the world are ſo various; governments are expoſed to ſuch extraordinary revolutions; the field of events is ſo extenſive; political intrigues occaſion ſuch amazing changes in public affairs, that it is not within the reach of human wiſdom to foreſee and calculate every circumſtance. But in this point, it is the common practice of governments, which we

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are diſcuſſing, and not a particular ſituation which in all probability may never preſent itſelf.

EVERY ſtate which will not be diverted from the ruinous courſe of loans by ſuch conſiderations as we have juſt been offering, will be the cauſe of its own deſtruction. The facility of acquiring large ſums of money at once, will engage a government in every kind of unreaſonable, raſh and expenſive undertaking; will make it mortgage its future expectations for preſent exigencies, and game with the preſent ſtock to acquire future ſupplies. One loan will bring on another, and to accelerate the laſt, the intereſt will be more and more raiſed.

THIS irregularity will cauſe the fruits of induſtry to paſs into ſome idle hands. The facility of obtaining every enjoyment without labour, will induce every perſon of fortune, as well as all vicious and intriguing men to reſort to the capital; who will bring with them a train of ſervants, borrowed from the plough; of young girls deprived of their innocence and of their rights of marriage; of ſubjects of both ſexes devoted to luxury: all of them the inſtruments, the victims, the objects, or the ſport of indolence and voluptuouſneſs.

THE ſeducing attraction of public debts will ſpread more and more. When men can reap the fruits of the earth without labour, every individual will engage in that ſpecies of employment which is at once lucrative and eaſy. Proprietors of land and merchants will all turn annuitants.

Money

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Money is converted into paper currency eſtabliſhed by the ſtate, becauſe it is more portable than ſpecie, leſs ſubject to alteration from time, and leſs liable to the injury of ſeaſons, and the rapacity of the farmers of the revenue. The preference given to the repreſentative paper above the real ſpecie or commodity, will be injurious to agriculture, trade, and induſtry. As the ſtate always expends what has been wrongfully acquired in an improper manner, in proportion as its debts increaſe, the taxes muſt be raiſed in order to pay the intereſt. Thus all the active and uſeful claſſes of ſociety are plundered and exhauſted by the idle uſeleſs claſs of annuitants. The increaſe of taxes raiſes the price of commodities, and conſequently that of induſtry. By theſe means, conſumption is leſſened; becauſe exportation ceaſes as ſoon as merchandiſe is too dear to ſtand the competition of other nations. Land and manufactures are equally affected.

The inability the ſtate then finds in itſelf to anſwer its engagements, forces it to extricate itſelf by bankruptcy; a method the moſt deſtructive of the freedom of the people, and of the power of the ſovereign. This fatal criſis of empires, by which the fortunes of every individual are ruined, will at length become neceſſary; by which, the property of the creditor will be violently ſeized upon, after every public fund has been abſorbed in uſurious intereſt, and in edicts for loans; by which, the monarch after having entered into the

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moſt ſolemn engagements, will be obliged to ſubmit to the diſgrace of breaking them; by which, the oaths of the prince and the rights of his ſubjects are equally forfeited; by which, the ſureſt baſis of all government, public confidence will be irrecoverably loſt.—Such is the end of loans, from whence we may judge of the principles on which they are founded.

Fine arts and Belles Lettres.

AFTER having examined the ſprings and ſupport of every civilized ſociety, let us take a view of the ornaments and decorations of the political edifice. Theſe are the fine arts, and polite literature. Two celebrated people raiſed themſelves by works of genius to a height of reputation which they will ever enjoy, and which will always reflect honour on the human ſpecies.

CHRISTIANITY, after having demoliſhed in Europe all the idols of Pagan antiquity, preſerved ſome of the arts to aſſiſt the powers of perſuaſion, and to favour the preaching of the goſpel. But in the place of a religion embelliſhed with the gay divinities of Greece and Rome, it erected monuments of terror and gloomineſs, ſuited to the tragic events which ſignalized its birth and progreſs. The Gothic ages have left us ſome monuments, the boldneſs and majeſty of which ſtill ſtrike the eye amidſt the ruins of taſte and elegance. Every one of their temples was built in the ſhape of the croſs, covered with a croſs, filled with crucifixes, decorated with horrid and gloomy images, with ſcaffolds, tortures, martyrs, and executioners.

WHAT

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What then was the progreſs of the arts, condemned as they were to terrify the imagination by continual ſpectacles of blood, death, and future puniſhments? They became as hideous as the models they were formed upon, barbarous as the princes and pontiffs that encouraged them, mean and baſe as thoſe who worſhipped the productions of them; they terrified children in their very cradles; they aggravated the horrors of the grave by an eternal perſpective of terrible ſhades; they ſpread melancholy over the whole face of the earth.

At length the period arrived for leſſening thoſe ſcaffoldings of religion and ſocial policy. The fine arts returned with literature from Greece into Italy by the Mediterranean, which maintained the commerce between Aſia and Europe. The Huns, under the name of Goths, had driven them from Rome to Conſtantinople; and the very ſame people, under the name of Turks, expelled them again from Conſtantinople to Rome. That city, deſtined as it was to rule by force or by ſtratagem, cultivated and revived the arts, which had been a long time buried in oblivion.

Walls, columns, ſtatues, vaſes, were drawn forth from the duſt of ages, and from the ruins of Italy, to ſerve as models of the fine arts at their revival. The genius which preſides over deſign raiſed three of the arts at once; I mean architecture, ſculpture and painting. Architecture, in which convenience itſelf regulated thoſe proportions

ons of ſymmetry that contribute to give pleaſure to the eye; ſculpture, which flatters princes, and is the reward of great men; and painting, which perpetuates the remembrance of noble actions, and the examples of mutual tenderneſs. Italy alone had more ſuperb cities, more magnificent edifices than all the reſt of Europe. Rome, Florence and Venice gave riſe to three ſchools of original painters: ſo much does genius depend upon the imagination, and imagination upon the climate. Had Italy poſſeſſed the treaſures of Mexico, and the produce of Aſia, how much more would the arts have been enriched by the diſcovery of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

That country, of old ſo fruitful in heroes, and ſince in artiſts, beheld literature, which is the inſeparable companions of the arts, flouriſh a ſecond time. It had been overwhelmed by the barbariſm of a latinity corrupted and diſfigured by religious enthuſiaſm. A mixture of Egyptian theology, Grecian philoſophy, and Hebrew poetry; ſuch was the Latin language in the mouths of Monks, who chanted all night, and taught by day things and words they did not underſtand.

The mythology of the Romans revived in literature the graces of antiquity. The ſpirit of imitation borrowed them at firſt indiſcriminately. Cuſtom introduced taſte in the choice of thoſe rich treaſures. The Italian genius, too fertile not to invent, blended its enthuſiaſm and caprice with the rules and examples with its old maſters, and joined

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joined even the fictions of fairy land with thoſe of fable. The works of imagination partook of the manners of the age and of the national character. Petrarch had drawn that celeſtial virgin, beauty, which ſerved as a model for the heroines of chivalry. Armida was the emblem of the coquetry which reigned in her time in Italy. Arioſto confounded every ſpecies of poetry, in a work, which may rather be called the labyrinth of poetry, than a regular poem. That author will ſtand alone in the hiſtory of literature, like the enchanted palaces of his own conſtruction in the deſerts.

LETTERS and arts, after croſſing the ſea, paſſed the Alps. In the ſame manner as the Cruſades had brought the oriental romances into Italy, the wars of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. introduced into France ſome principles of good literature. Francis I. if he had not been into Italy in order to contend for the Milaneſe with Charles V. would never, perhaps, have been ambitious of the title of *the Father of letters:* but theſe ſeeds of knowledge and improvement in the arts were loſt in the religious wars. They were recovered again, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, in ſcenes of war and deſtruction: and the time came when they were again to revive and flouriſh. Italy was as much diſtinguiſhed in the 16th century, as France was in the ſucceeding one, which by the victories of Lewis XIV. or rather by the genius of the great men that flouriſhed together under his reign, deſerves

ſerves to make an epocha in the hiſtory of the fine arts. BOOK XIX.

In France, all the powers of the human mind were at once exerted in producing works of genius, as they had before been in Italy. Its powers were diſplayed in the marble, and on the canvas, in public edifices and gardens; as well as in eloquence and poetry. Every thing was ſubmitted to its influence, not only the liberal arts which require manual labour, but thoſe alſo which depend ſolely on the mind. Every thing bore the ſtamp of genius. The colours diſplayed in natural objects animated the works of imagination; and the human paſſions enlivened the deſigns of the pencil. Man gave ſpirit to matter, and body to ſpirit. But it deſerves to be particularly obſerved that this happened at a time when a paſſion for glory animated the nation, great and powerful as it was by its ſituation, and the extent of its empire. The ſenſe of honour which raiſed it in its own eſtimation, and which then diſtinguiſhed it in the eyes of all Europe, was its ſoul, its inſtinct, and ſupplied the place of that liberty which had formerly given riſe to the arts of genius in the republics of Greece and Rome, had revived them in that of Florence, and compelled them to flouriſh on the bleak and cloudy borders of the Thames.

What would not genius have effected in France, had it been under the influence of laws only, when its exertions were ſo great under the dominion of

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the moſt abſolute of kings! When we ſee what energy patriotiſm has given to the Engliſh, in ſpite of the inactivity of their climate, we may judge what it might have produced among the French, where a moſt mild temperature of ſeaſon leads a people, naturally ſenſible and lively, to invention and enjoyment. We may conceive what its effects would have been in a country, where, as in antient Greece, are to be found men of active and lively genius, fitted for invention, from being warmed by the moſt powerful and enlivening rays of the ſun; where there are men ſtrong and robuſt in a climate, in which even the cold excites to labour: in which we meet with temperate provinces between north and ſouth; ſea-ports together with navigable rivers; vaſt plains abounding in corn; hills loaded with vineyards and fruits of all ſorts; ſalt pits which may be increaſed at pleaſure; paſtures covered with horſes; mountains clothed with the fineſt woods; a country every where peopled with laborious hands, which are the firſt reſources for ſubſiſtence; the common materials for the arts, and the ſuperfluities of luxury; in a word, where we meet with the commerce of Athens, the induſtry of Corinth, the ſoldiery of Sparta, and the flocks of Arcadia. With all theſe advantages, which Greece once poſſeſſed, France might have carried the fine arts to as great a height as that parent of genius, had ſhe been ſubject to the ſame laws, and given a ſcope to the ſame exerciſe of reaſon

reaſon and liberty, by which great men, and the rulers of powerful nations are produced.

NEXT to the ſuperiority of legiſlation among modern nations, to raiſe them to an equality with the ancients in works of genius, there has, perhaps, been wanting only an improvement in language. The Italian, with tone, accent, and numbers, is peculiarly adapted to expreſs all the images of poetry, and convey all the delightful impreſſions of muſic. Theſe two arts have conſecrated this language to the harmony of ſound, it being the moſt proper to expreſs it.

THE French language holds the ſuperiority in proſe; if it is not the language of the Gods, it is, at leaſt, that of reaſon and truth. Proſe is peculiarly adapted to convince the underſtanding in philoſophical reſearches. It enlightens the mind of thoſe whom nature has bleſſed with ſuperior talents, who ſeem placed between princes and their ſubjects to inſtruct and direct mankind. At a period when liberty has no longer her tribunes, nor amphitheatres, to excite commotions in vaſt aſſemblies of the people, a language which ſpreads itſelf in books, which is read in all countries, which ſerves as the common interpreter of all other languages, and as the vehicle of all ſorts of ideas: a language ennobled, refined, ſoftened, and above all, fixed by the genius of writers, and the poliſh of courts, becomes at length univerſally prevailing.

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THE Engliſh language has likewiſe had its poets and its proſe-writers, that have gained it the character of energy and boldneſs, ſufficient to render it immortal. May it be learned among all nations that aſpire not to be ſlaves. They will dare to think, act, and govern themſelves. It is not the language of words, but of ideas; and the Engliſh have none but ſuch as are ſtrong and forcible; they are the firſt who ever made uſe of the expreſſion, *the majeſty of the people*, and that alone is ſufficient to conſecrate a language.

THE Spaniards have hitherto properly had neither proſe nor verſe, though they have a language formed to excel in both. Brilliant and ſonorous as pure gold, its pronunciation is grave and regular like the dances of that nation: it is grand and decent like the manners of ancient chivalry. This language may claim ſome diſtinction, and even acquire a ſuperior degree of perfection, whenever there ſhall be found in it many ſuch writers as Cervantes and Mariana. When its academy ſhall have put to ſilence the inquiſition and its univerſities, that language will raiſe itſelf to great ideas, and to ſublime truths, to which it is invited by the natural pride of the people who ſpeak it.

PRIOR to all other living languages is the German, that mother tongue, that original native language of Europe. From thence the Engliſh and French too have been formed, by the mixture of the German with the Latin. However, as it ſeems little calculated to pleaſe the eye, or to be pro-

pronounced by delicate organs, it has been ſpoken only by the people, and has been introduced but of late into books. The few writers that have appeared in it ſeemed to ſhew that it belonged to a country where the fine arts, poetry and eloquence were not deſtined to flouriſh. But on a ſudden, genius has exerted her powers, and originals in more than one ſpecies of poetry, have appeared in pretty conſiderable numbers, ſufficient to enter into competition with other nations.

LANGUAGES could not be cultivated and refined to a certain degree, but the arts of every kind muſt at the ſame time acquire an equal degree of perfection; and indeed the monuments of theſe arts have ſo much increaſed throughout Europe, that the barbariſm of ſucceeding people and of future ages will find it difficult entirely to deſtroy them.

BUT as commotions and revolutions are ſo natural to mankind, there is only wanting ſome glowing genius, ſome enthuſiaſt to ſet the world again in flames. The people of the eaſt, or of the north, are ſtill ready to enſlave and plunge all Europe into its former darkneſs. Would not an irruption of Tartars or Africans into Italy, be ſufficient to overturn churches, and palaces, to confound in one general ruin the idols of religion, and the maſter-pieces of art? And as we are ſo much attached to theſe works of luxury, we ſhould have the leſs ſpirit to defend them. A city, which it has coſt two centuries to decorate, is burnt and

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ravaged in a single day. Perhaps, with one stroke of his axe, a Tartar may dash in pieces the statue of Voltaire, that Pigalle could not finish within the compass of ten years; and we still labour for immortality; vain atoms that we are. Ye nations, whether artisans or soldiers, what are ye in the hands of nature, but the sport of her laws, destined by turns to set dust in motion, and to reduce the work again to dust.

But it is by means of the arts that man enjoys his existence, and survives himself.—Ages of ignorance never emerge from their oblivion. There remains no more trace of them after their existence, than before they began to exist. There is no possibility of indicating the place or time of their passage, nor can we mark on the ground belonging to a barbarous people, *it is here they lived*; for they leave not even ruins to lead us to collect that they have ever existed. It is invention alone that gives man power over matter and time. The genius of Homer has rendered the Greek characters indelible. Harmony and reason have placed the eloquence of Cicero above the sacred orators. The pontiffs themselves, polished and enlightened by the information and attractive influence of the arts, by being admirers and protectors of them, have assisted the human mind to break the chains of superstition. Commerce has hastened the progress of art by means of the luxury which wealth has diffused. All the efforts of the mind and the exertions of manual labour have been united to improve

improve and render more perfect the condition of the human ſpecies. Induſtry and invention, together with the enjoyments procured by the new world, have penetrated as far as the polar circle, and the fine arts are attempting to riſe ſuperior to the obſtacles of nature even at Peterſburgh. BOOK XIX.

To the train of letters and fine arts philoſophy is annexed, which one would imagine ought rather to direct them: but appearing later than they did can only be conſidered as their attendant. Arts ariſe from the very neceſſities of mankind in the earlieſt ſtate of the human mind. Letters are the flowers of its youth: children of the imagination, being themſelves fond of ornament, they decorate every thing they approach: and this turn for embelliſhment produces what are properly called the fine arts or the arts of luxury and elegance, which give the poliſh to the primary arts of neceſſity. It is then we ſee the winged genii of ſculpture fluttering over the porticos of architecture; and the genii of painting entering palaces, repreſenting the heavens upon a cieling, ſketching out upon wool and ſilk all the animated ſcenes of rural life, and tracing to the mind upon canvas the uſeful truths of hiſtory as well as the agreeable chimæras of fable. Philoſophy.

When the mind has been employed on the pleaſures of the imagination and of the ſenſes, when governments have arrived to a degree of maturity, reaſon ariſes and beſtows on the nations a certain turn for reflection; this is the age of philoſophy.

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She advances with gradual ſteps and proceeds ſilently along, announcing the decline of empires which ſhe attempts in vain to ſupport. She cloſed the latter ages of the celebrated republics of Greece and Rome. Athens had no philoſophers till the eve of her ruin, which they ſeemed to foretell; Cicero and Lucretius did not compoſe their writings on the nature of the gods, and the ſyſtem of the world, till the confuſion of the civil wars aroſe, and haſtened the deſtruction of liberty.

THALES, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras had however laid the foundations of natural philoſophy in the theories of the elements of matter; but the rage of forming ſyſtems ſucceſſively ſubverted theſe ſeveral principles. Socrates then appeared, who brought back philoſophy to the principles of true wiſdom and virtue: it was that alone he loved, practiſed and taught; perſuaded that morality and not ſcience was conducive to the happineſs of man. Plato, his diſciple, though a natural philoſopher and inſtructed in the myſteries of nature by his travels into Egypt, aſcribed every thing to the ſoul, and ſcarce any thing to nature; he confounded philoſophy with theological ſpeculations, and the knowledge of the univerſe with the ideas of the divinity. Ariſtotle, the diſciple of Plato, turned his inquiries leſs on the nature of the deity, than on that of man, and of animals. His natural hiſtory has been tranſmitted to poſterity, though his ſyſtem was little adopted by the people of his age. Epicurus, who lived nearly about

about the ſame period, revived the atoms of De- BOOK
mocritus, a ſyſtem, which doubtleſs balanced that XIX.
of the four elements of Ariſtotle, and as theſe were the two prevailing ſyſtems at that time, no improvements were made in natural philoſophy. The moral philoſophers engaged the attention of the people who underſtood their ſyſtem better than that of the natural philoſopher. They eſtabliſhed ſchools; for as ſoon as opinions gain a degree of reputation, parties are immediately formed to ſupport them.

In theſe circumſtances, Greece agitated by interior commotions after having been torn with an inteſtine war, was ſubjected by Macedon, and its government diſſolved by Rome. Then public calamities turned the hearts and underſtandings of men to morality. Zeno and Democritus, who had been only natural philoſophers, became, a conſiderable time after their death, the heads of two ſects of moral philoſophers, more addicted to theology than phyſics, rather caſuiſts than philoſophers; or it might rather be affirmed that philoſophy was given up and confined entirely to the ſophiſts. The Romans, who had borrowed every thing from the Greeks, made no diſcoveries in the true ſyſtem of philoſophy. Among the ancients it made little progreſs; becauſe it was entirely confined to morality: among the moderns its firſt ſteps have been more fortunate, becauſe they have been guided by the light of natural knowledge.

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We muſt not reckon the interval of near a thouſand years, during which period philoſophy, ſcience, arts and letters, were buried in the ruins of the Roman empire, among the aſhes of Italy, and the duſt of the cloyſters. In Aſia their monuments were ſtill preſerved though not attended to, and in Europe ſome fragments of them remained which ſhe did not know. The world, was divided into Chriſtian and Mohammedan, and every where covered with the blood of nations: ignorance alone triumphed under the ſtandard of the croſs or the creſcent. Before theſe dreaded ſigns, every knee was bent, every ſpirit trembled. Philoſophy continued in a ſtate of infancy, pronouncing only the names of God and of the ſoul: her attention was ſolely engaged on matters of which ſhe ſhould for ever remain ignorant. Time, argument and all her application was waſted on queſtions that were, at leaſt, idle; queſtions, for the moſt part, void of ſenſe, not to be defined, and not to be determined from the nature of their object; and which, therefore, proved an eternal ſource of diſputes, ſchiſms, ſects, hatred, perſecution, and national as well as religious wars.

In the mean time, the Arabs after their conqueſts carried away as it were in triumph, the ſpoils of genius and philoſophy. Ariſtotle fell into their hands, preſerved from the ruins of ancient Greece. Theſe deſtroyers of empires had ſome ſciences of which they had been the inventors; among

among which arithmetic is to be numbered. By the knowledge of aſtronomy and geometry they diſcovered the coaſts of Africa which they laid waſte and peopled again; and they were always great proficients in medicine. That ſcience which has, perhaps, no greater recommendation in its favour, than its affinity with chymiſtry and natural knowledge, rendered them as celebrated as aſtrology, which is another ſupport of empirical impoſition. Avicenna and Averroès, who were equally ſkilled in phyſic, mathematics and philoſophy, preſerved the tradition of true ſcience by tranſlations and commentaries. But let us imagine what muſt become of Ariſtotle, tranſlated from Greek into Arabic, and after that, from Arabic into Latin, under the hands of monks, who wanted to adapt the philoſophy of paganiſm to the ſyſtems of Moſes and Chriſt. This confuſion of opinions, ideas and language ſtopped for a conſiderable time the progreſs of ſcience, and the reducing of it into a regular ſyſtem. The divine overturned the materials brought by the philoſopher, who ſapped the very foundations laid by his rival. However, with a few ſtones from one, and much ſand from the other, ſome wretched architects raiſed a ſtrange Gothic monument, called the philoſophy of the ſchools. Continually amended, renewed, and ſupported from age to age, by Iriſh or Spaniſh metaphyſicians, it maintained itſelf till about the time of the diſcovery of the

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the new world, which was deſtined to change the face of the old one.

LIGHT ſprang from the midſt of darkneſs. An Engliſh monk applied himſelf to the practice of chymiſtry, and paving the way for the invention of gun-powder, which was to bring America into ſubjection to Europe, opened the avenues of true ſcience by experimental philoſophy. Thus philoſophy iſſued out of the cloyſter, where ignorance remained. When Boccacio had expoſed the debauched lives of the regular and ſecular clergy, Galileo ventured to form conjectures upon the figure of the earth. Superſtition was alarmed at it, and its clamours as well as its menaces were heard: but philoſophy tore off the maſk from the monſter, and rent the veil under which truth had been hidden. The weakneſs and falſehood of popular opinions was perceived, on which ſociety was then founded; but in order to put an effectual ſtop to error, it was neceſſary to be acquainted with the laws of nature, and the cauſes of her various phænomena: and that was the object philoſophy had in view.

As ſoon as Copernicus was dead, after he had, by the power of reaſon, conjectured that the ſun was in the center of our world, Galileo aroſe, and confirmed by the invention of the teleſcope the true ſyſtem of aſtronomy, which either had been unknown, or lay in oblivion ever ſince Pythagoras had conceived it. While Gaſſendi was reviving the elements of antient philoſophy, or the atoms

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of Epicurus, Deſcartes imagined and combined the elements of a new philoſophy, or his ingenious and ſubtile vortexes. Almoſt about the ſame time, Toricelli invented, at Florence, the thermometer to determine the weight of the air; Paſcal meaſured the height of the mountains of Auvergne, and Boyle in England verified and confirmed the various experiments of both.

Descartes had taught the art of doubting, in order to undeceive the mind previous to inſtruction. The method of doubting propoſed by him was the grand inſtrument of ſcience, and the moſt ſignal ſervice that could be rendered to the human mind under the darkneſs which ſurrounded it, and the chains which fettered it. Bayle, by applying that method to opinions the beſt authoriſed by the ſanction of time and power, has made us ſenſible of its importance.

Chancellor Bacon, a philoſopher, but unſucceſsful at court, as friar Bacon had been in the cloyſter, like him the harbinger rather than the eſtabliſher of the new philoſophy, had proteſted equally againſt the prejudice of the ſenſes and the ſchools, as againſt thoſe phantoms he ſtiled the idols of the underſtanding. He had foretold truths he could not diſcover. In conformity to the reſult of his reaſoning, which might be conſidered as oracular, while experimental philoſophy was diſcovering facts, rational philoſophy was in ſearch of cauſes. Both contributed to the ſtudy of mathematics, which were to guide the efforts of the mind

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mind and insure their success. It was, in fact, the science of algebra applied to geometry, and the application of geometry to natural philosophy, which made Newton conjecture the true system of the world. Upon taking a view of the heavens, he perceived in the fall of bodies to the earth, and in the motions of the heavenly bodies, a certain analogy which implied an universal principle, differing from impulsion, the only visible cause of all their movements. From the study of astronomy he next applied himself to that of optics, and this led him to conjecture the origin of light; and the experiments which he made in consequence of this inquiry, reduced it into a system.

At the time when Descartes died, Newton and Leibnitz were but just born, who were to finish, correct and bring to perfection what he had begun, that is to say, the establishing of sound philosophy. These two men alone greatly contributed to its quick and rapid progress. One carried the knowledge of God and the soul, as far as reason could lead it; and the unsuccessfulness of his attempts undeceived the human mind for ever with respect to such false systems of metaphysics. The other extended the principles of natural philosophy and the mathematics much further than the genius of many ages had been able to carry them, and pointed out the road to truth. At the same time Locke attacked scientific prejudices even into the intrenchments of the schools: he dissipated all those phantoms of the imagination, which Mallebranche suf-

ſuffered to ſpring up again, after he had pointed out their abſurdity, becauſe he did not attack the foundation on which they were ſupported.

But we are not to ſuppoſe that philoſophers alone have diſcovered and imagined every thing. It is the courſe of events which has given a certain tendency to the actions and thoughts of mankind. A complication of natural or moral cauſes, a gradual improvement in politics joined to the progreſs of ſtudy and of the ſciences, a combination of circumſtances which it was as impoſſible to haſten as to foreſee, muſt have contributed to the revolution that has prevailed in the underſtandings of men. Among nations as among individuals, the body and ſoul act and re-act alternately upon each other. Popular opinions infect even philoſophers, and philoſophers are guides to the people. Galileo had aſſerted, that as the earth turned round the ſun, there muſt be antipodes; and Drake proved the fact, by a voyage round the world. The church ſtyled itſelf univerſal, and the Pope called himſelf maſter of the earth: and yet more than two thirds of its inhabitants did not ſo much as know there was any catholic religion, and particularly that there was a pope. Europeans, who have travelled and trafficked every where, taught Europe that one portion of the globe adopted the viſionary opinions of Mohammed, and a ſtill larger one lived in the darkneſs of idolatry, or in the total ignorance and unenlightened ſtate of atheiſm. Thus philoſophy extended the empire of human knowledge

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knowledge, by the discovery of the errors of superstition, and of the truths of nature.

ITALY, whose impatient genius penetrated through the obstacles that surrounded it, was the first that founded an academy of natural philosophy. France and England, who were to aggrandize themselves even by their competition, raised at one time two everlasting monuments to the improvement of philosophy: two academies from whence all the learned of Europe draw their information, and in which they deposit all their stores of knowledge. From hence have been brought to light a great number of the mysterious points in nature; experiments, phænomena, discoveries in the arts and sciences, the secrets of electricity, and the causes of the Aurora Borealis. Hence have proceeded the instruments and means of purifying air on board of ships, for making sea water fit to be drunk; for determining the figure of the earth, and ascertaining the longitudes; for improving agriculture, and for producing more grain with less seed and less labour.

ARISTOTLE had reigned ten centuries in all the schools of Europe; and the christians, after losing the guidance of reason, were able to recover it again only by following his example. Their implicit attachment to that philosopher had for a considerable time caused them to err, in blindly following him through the darkness of theology. But at length Descartes pointed out the way, and Newton supplied the power of extricating them out

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of that labyrinth. Doubt had diſſipated prejudices, and the method of analyſis had found out the truth. After the two Bacons, Galileo and Deſcartes, Locke and Bayle, Leibnitz and Newton, after the memoirs of the academies of Florence and Leipſic, of Paris and London, there ſtill remained a great work to be compoſed, in order to perpetuate the ſciences and philoſophy. This work has now appeared.

This book, which contains all the errors and all the truths that have iſſued from the human mind from the doctrines of theology to the ſpeculations on inſects; which contains an account of every work of the hands of men from a ſhip to a pin; this repoſitory of the intelligence of all nations, will, in future ages, characteriſe that of philoſophy, which after ſo many advantages procured to mankind ought to be conſidered as a divinity on earth. It is ſhe who unites, enlightens, aids and comforts mankind. She beſtows every thing upon them, without exacting any worſhip in return. She requires of them, not the ſacrifice of their paſſions, but a reaſonable, uſeful and moderate exerciſe of all their faculties. Daughter of nature, diſpenſer of her gifts, interpreter of her rights, ſhe conſecrates her intelligence and her labour to the uſe of man. She renders him better, that he may be happier. She deteſts only tyranny and impoſture, becauſe they oppreſs mankind. She does not deſire to rule, but ſhe exacts of ſuch as govern, to conſider public happineſs as

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the only ſource of their enjoyment. She avoids conteſts, and the name of ſects, but ſhe tolerates them all. The blind and the wicked calumniate her; the former are afraid of perceiving their errors, and the latter of having them detected. Ungrateful children, who rebel againſt a tender mother, when ſhe wiſhes to free them from their errors and vices which occaſion the calamities of mankind!

LIGHT, however, ſpreads inſenſibly over a more extenſive horizon. Literature has formed a kind of empire which prepares the way for making Europe be conſidered as one ſingle republican power. In truth, if philoſophy is ever enabled to inſinuate itſelf into the minds of ſovereigns or their miniſters, the ſyſtem of politics will be improved, and rendered ſimple. Humanity will be more regarded in all plans; the public good will enter into negotiations, not merely as an expreſſion, but as an object of utility even to kings.

PRINTING has already made ſuch a progreſs that it can never be put a ſtop to in any ſtate without lowering the people in order to advance the authority of government. Books enlighten the body of the people, humaniſe the great, are the delight of the leiſure hours of the rich, and inform all the claſſes of ſociety. The ſciences bring to perfection the different branches of political œconomy. Even the errors of ſyſtematical perſons are diſpelled by the productions of the preſs, becauſe reaſoning

reaſoning and diſcuſſion try them by the teſt of truth. BOOK XIX.

An intercourſe of knowledge is become neceſſary for induſtry, and literature alone maintains that communication. The reading of a voyage round the world has, perhaps, occaſioned more attempts of that kind; for intereſt alone cannot find the means of enterpriſe. At preſent nothing can be cultivated without ſome ſtudy, or without the knowledge that has been handed down and diffuſed by reading. Princes themſelves have not recovered their rights from the uſurpations of the clergy, but by the aſſiſtance of that knowledge which has undeceived the people with reſpect to the abuſes of all ſpiritual power.

But it would be the greateſt folly of the human mind to have employed all its powers to increaſe the authority of kings, and to break the ſeveral chains that held it in ſubjection, in order to become the ſlave of deſpotiſm. The ſame courage that religion inſpires to withdraw conſcience from the tyranny exerciſed over opinion, the honeſt man, the citizen, and friend of the people ought to maintain to free the nations from the tyranny of ſuch powers as conſpire againſt the liberty of mankind. Unhappy is that ſtate in which there is not to be found one ſingle defender of the public rights of the nation. The kingdom, with all its riches, its trade, its nobles, and its citizens muſt ſoon fall into unavoidable anarchy. It is the laws that are to ſave a nation from deſtruction, and the

BOOK XIX. freedom of writing is to support and present laws. But what is the foundation and bulwark of the laws? It is morality.

Morals. THERE are whole libraries of morality. What a number of useless and even pernicious books! They are, in general, the work of priests and their disciples, who not chusing to see that religion should consider men only in the relations they stand in to the divinity, it became necessary to look for another ground for the relations they bear to one another. If there is an universal system of morality, it cannot be the effect of a particular cause. It has been the same in past ages, and it will continue the same in future times; it cannot then be grounded on religious opinions, which ever since the beginning of the world, and from one pole to the other, have continually varied. Greece had vicious deities, the Romans had them likewise: the senseless worshipper of the Fetiche adores rather a devil than a God. Every people made gods for themselves, and gave them such attributes as they pleased: to some they ascribed goodness, to others cruelty, to some immorality, to others the greatest sanctity and severity of manners. One would imagine that every nation intended to deify its own passions and opinions. Notwithstanding that diversity in religious systems and modes of worship, all nations have perceived that men ought to be just: they have all honoured as virtues, goodness, pity, friendship, fidelity, paternal tenderness, filial respect,

ſpect, ſincerity, gratitude, patriotiſm; in ſhort all thoſe ſentiments that can be conſidered as ſo many tyes adapted to unite men more cloſely to one another. The origin of that uniformity of judgment ſo conſtant, ſo general, ought not then to be looked for in the midſt of contradictory and fluctuating opinions. If the miniſters of religion have appeared to think otherwiſe, it is becauſe by their ſyſtem they were enabled to regulate all the actions of mankind; to diſpoſe of their fortunes; and command their wills; and to ſecure to themſelves in the name of Heaven the arbitrary government of the world—the veil is now removed.

At the tribunal of philoſophy and reaſon, morality is a ſcience whoſe object is the preſervation and common happineſs of the human ſpecies. To this double end all its rules ought to tend. Their natural, conſtant, eternal principle is in man himſelf, and in a reſemblance there is in the general organization of man which includes a ſimilarity of wants, of pleaſures, and pains, of force and weakneſs; a reſemblance from whence ariſes the neceſſity of ſociety, or of a common oppoſition againſt ſuch dangers as are equally incident to each individual, which proceed from nature herſelf, and threaten man on all ſides. Such is the origin of particular duties and of domeſtic virtues; ſuch is the origin of general duties and public virtues; ſuch is the ſource of the notion of perſonal and public utility, the ſource of all compacts between individuals, and of all laws of government.

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Several writers have endeavoured to trace the first principles of morality in the sentiments of friendship, tenderness, compassion, honour, and benevolence; because they found them engraven on the human heart. But did they not also find there hatred, jealousy, revenge, pride, and the love of dominion? For what reason therefore have they founded morality on the former principles rather than the latter? It is because they found that the former were of general advantage to society, and to the others fatal to it. These philosophers have perceived the necessity of morality, they have conceived what it ought to be, but have not discovered its leading and fundamental principle. The very sentiments indeed, which they adopt as the ground-work of morality, because they appear to be serviceable to the common good, if left to themselves would be very prejudicial to it. How can we determine to punish the guilty if we listen only to the pleas of compassion? How shall we guard against partiality, if we consult only the dictates of friendship? How shall we avoid being favourable to idleness, if we attend only to the sentiments of benevolence? All these virtues have their limits, beyond which they degenerate into vices; and those limits are settled by the invariable rules of essential justice; or, which is the same thing, by the common interests of men united together in society and the constant object of that union.

These limits, it is true, have not yet been aſcertained; nor indeed could they, ſince it has not been poſſible to fix what the common intereſt itſelf was. And this is the reaſon why among all people, and at all times, men have formed ſuch different ideas of virtue and vice: why hitherto, morality has appeared to be but a matter of mere convention among men. That ſo many ages ſhould have paſſed away in an entire ignorance of the firſt principles of a ſcience ſo important to our happineſs is a certain fact; but ſo extraordinary that it ſhould appear incredible. We cannot imagine how it has not been ſooner diſcovered, that the uniting of men in ſociety has not, and indeed could not have any other deſign, but the general happineſs of individuals; and therefore that there is not, and cannot be any other ſocial tie between them, than that of their common intereſt: and that nothing can be conſiſtent with the order of ſocieties, unleſs it be conſiſtent with the common utility of the members that compoſe them: that it is this principle which neceſſarily determines virtue and vice: and that our actions are conſequently more or leſs virtuous, according as they tend more or leſs to the common advantage of ſociety; that they are more or leſs vicious, according as the prejudice ſociety receives from them is greater or leſs.

Is it on its own account that valour is ranked among the number of virtues? No, it is on account of the ſervice it is of to ſociety. This is

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evident from hence, that it is punished as a crime in a man whom it causes to disturb the public peace. Why then is drukenness a vice? Because every man is bound to contribute to the common good, and to fulfill that obligation, he has occasion for the free exercise of his faculties. Why are certain actions more blameable in a magistrate or general, than in a private man? Because greater inconvenience result from them to society.

As society ought to be beneficial to every one of its members; it is but just that each of its members should contribute to the advantage of society. To be virtuous therefore, is to be useful: to be vicious, is to be useless or hurtful. This is morality.

This, indeed, is universal morality—that morality which being connected with the nature of man, is connected with the nature of society; that morality which can vary only in its applications, but never in its essence: that morality, in short, to which all laws should refer, and to which they should be subordinate. In conformity to this common rule of all our private and public actions; let us consider whether there ever were, or ever can be good morals in Europe.

Since the invasion of the barbarous nations into this quarter of the globe, almost all governments have been established only on the interest of a single man, or a single set of men, to the prejudice of the whole society. As they were founded on conquest, the effect of superior power, they have

have only varied in the mode of keeping the people in subjection. At first war made victims of them, devoted either to the sword of their rulers, or that of the enemy. How many ages have passed away in scenes of blood and general massacre, that is to say, in the distribution of empires, before terms of peace had induced the people to suppose that there was something of a divine origin in that state of intestine war called society or government!

When the feudal government had for ever excluded those who tilled the ground from the right of possessing it: when, by a sacrilegious collusion between the altar and the throne, the authority of God had been enforced by that of the sword, what effect had the morality of the gospel, but to authorize tyranny by the doctrine of passive obedience, but to confirm slavery by a contempt of all science and private property; in a word to add to the terror of the great that of evil spirits? And what were morals with such laws? What they are at present in Poland, where the people, being without lands, and without arms, are left to be massacred by the Russians or enlisted by the Prussians, and having neither courage nor sentiment, think it is sufficient if they are christians, and remain neuter between their neighbours and their lords palatine.

To a similar state of anarchy wherein morals had no distinguishing character, nor any degree of stability, succeeded the epidemic fury of holy

BOOK XIX.

wars, by which nations were corrupted and degraded, by communicating the contagion of vices with that of fanaticiſm. Morals were changed with the change of climate. All the paſſions were inflamed and heightened between the tombs of Jeſus and Mohammed. From Paleſtine was imported a principle of luxury and pride, a ſtrong taſte for the ſpices of the eaſt, a romantic ſpirit which civilized the nobles of all countries without making the people more happy or more virtuous: for if there is no happineſs without virtue; virtue will never ſupport itſelf without being founded on happineſs.

About two centuries after Europe had been depopulated by Aſiatic expeditions, its tranſmigration in America happened. That revolution introduced an univerſal confuſion, and blended the vices and productions of every climate with our own. Neither was any improvement made in the ſcience of morality, becauſe men were then deſtroyed through avarice, inſtead of being maſſacred on account of religion. Thoſe nations which had made the largeſt acquiſitions in the new world, ſeemed to acquire at the ſame time all the ſtupidity, ferociouſneſs, and ignorance of the old. They became the means of communicating the vices and diſeaſes of thoſe countries; poor and wretched amidſt all their gold; debauched, notwithſtanding their churches and their prieſts; idle and ſuperſtitious with all the ſources of commerce, and the

means

means of being enlightened. But the love of riches likewiſe corrupted all other nations. BOOK XIX.

WHETHER it be war or commerce that introduces great riches into a ſtate, they ſoon become the object of public ambition. At firſt men of the greateſt power ſeize upon them: and as riches come into the hands of thoſe who have the management of public affairs, wealth is confounded with honour in the minds of the people: and the virtuous citizen, who aſpired to employments only for the ſake of glory, aſpires without knowing it, to honour for the ſake of advantage. Neither lands nor treaſure, any more than conqueſts, are obtained with any other view but to enjoy them; and riches are enjoyed only for pleaſure and the oſtentation of luxury. Under theſe different ideas, they equally corrupt the citizen who poſſeſſes them, and the people who are ſeduced by their attraction. As ſoon as men labour only from a motive of gain, and not from a regard to their duty, the moſt advantageous ſituations are preferred to the moſt honourable. It is then we ſee the honour of a profeſſion diverted, obſcured, and loſt in the paths that lead to wealth.

To the advantage of that falſe conſideration at which riches arrive, are to be added the natural conveniences of opulence, a freſh ſort of corruption. The man who is in a public ſituation is deſirous of having people about him: the honours he receives in public are not ſufficient for him; he wants admirers, either of his talents, his luxury, or

BOOK XIX.

or his profusion. If riches are the means of corruption by leading to honours, how much more are they so by diffusing a taste for pleasure? Misery offers its chastity to sale, and idleness its liberty; the prince sets the magistracy up to sale, and the magistrates set a price upon justice: the court sells employments, and placemen sell the people to the prince, who sells them again to the neighbouring powers either in treaties of war, or subsidy; of peace, or exchange of territory.

Such is the sordid traffic introduced by the love of riches in any country where they can do every thing, and where virtue is held in no estimation. But there is no effect without its causes. Gold does not become the idol of the people, and virtue does not fall into contempt, unless the bad constitution of the government occasion such a corruption. Unfortunately, it will always have this effect, if the government is so constituted that the temporary interest of a single person, or of a small number, can with impunity prevail over the common and invariable interest of the whole. It will always produce this corruption, if those, in whose hands authority is lodged, can make an arbitrary use of it, can place themselves above the reach of all rules of justice, can make their power administer to plundering, and their plunder to the continuance of abuses occasioned by their power. Good laws are maintained by good morals; but good morals are established by good laws: men are what government makes them. To modify them,

them, it is always armed with an irreſiſtible force, that of public opinion: and the government will always make uſe of corruption, when by its nature it is itſelf corrupt. In a word, the nations of Europe will have good morals when they have good governments. Let us conclude. BOOK XIX.

NATIONS, I have diſcourſed to you on your deareſt intereſts. I have placed before your eyes the benefits of nature, and the fruits of induſtry. As ye are too frequently the occaſion of your mutual unhappineſs, you muſt have felt how the jealouſy of avarice, how pride and ambition remove far from your common weal the happineſs that preſents itſelf to you by peace and commerce. I have recalled that happineſs which has been removed from you. The ſentiments of my heart have been warmly expreſſed in favour of all mankind without diſtinction of ſect or country. Men are all equal in my ſight, by the reciprocal relation of the ſame wants and the ſame calamities: as they are all equal in the eyes of the ſupreme being through the relation between their weakneſs and his power.

I AM aware that ſubject as ye are to rulers, your condition depends upon them, and to ſpeak of your evils was to reproach them with their errors or their crimes. This reflection has not prevented me from exerting my endeavours. I never conceived that the ſacred reſpect due to humanity could poſſibly be irreconcileable with that which is due to thoſe who ſhould be its natural protectors.

I have

BOOK XIX.

I have been tranſported in idea into the councils of the governing powers of the world. I have ſpoken without diſguiſe, and without fear, and have no reaſon to accuſe myſelf of having betrayed the honourable cauſe I dared to plead. I have informed princes of their duties, and of the rights of the people. I have traced to them the fatal effects of that inhuman power which is guilty of oppreſſion; and of that whoſe indolence and weakneſs ſuffers it. I have ſketched all around them portraits of your misfortunes, and they cannot but have been ſenſibly affected by them. I have warned them that if they turned their eyes away, thoſe true but dreadful pictures would be engraven on the marble of their tombs, and accuſe their aſhes while poſterity trampled on them.

But talents are not always equal to our zeal. Undoubtedly I have ſtood in need of a greater ſhare of that penetration which diſcovers expedients, and of that eloquence which enforces truth. Sometimes, perhaps, the ſentiments of my heart have contributed to raiſe my genius: but moſt frequently I have perceived myſelf overwhelmed with my ſubject, and conſcious of my own inability.

May writers on whom nature has beſtowed greater abilities, complete by their original works what my eſſays have begun. Under the auſpices of philoſophy may there be one day extended from one extremity of the world to the other, that chain of union and benevolence which ought to connect

all

all civilized people! May they never more carry among ſavage nations the example of vice and oppreſſion! I do not flatter myſelf that, at the period of that happy revolution, my name will be ſtill in remembrance. This feeble work, which will have only the merit of having brought forth others better than itſelf, will, doubtleſs, be forgotten. But I ſhall, at leaſt, be able to ſay, that I have contributed, as much as was in my power, to the happineſs of my fellow-creatures, and pointed out the way, though at a diſtance, to improve their condition. This agreeable thought will ſtand me in the ſtead of glory. It will be the delight of my old age, and the conſolation of my lateſt moments.

THE END.

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